DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 272 328 RC 015 728

AUTHOR van den Berg-Eldering, Lotty
TITLE Colloquy on "Women and Migration: Cultural and Educational Aspects." The CDCC's Project No. 7: "The Education and Cultural Development of Migrants" (Strasbourg, France, November 19-21, 1984).
INSTITUTION Council for Cultural Cooperation, Strasbourg (France).
REPORT NO DECS/EGT(85)28
PUB DATE 86
NOTE 86p.
PUB TYPE Information Analyses (070) -- Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Adjustment (to Environment); Civil Liberties; *Cultural Influences; Cultural Pluralism; Educational Attainment; *Employed Women; Family Role; *Females; Immigrants; Migrant Education; Migrant Problems; *Migrants; Migration Patterns; Opportunities; Parent Aspiration; Participation; Population Trends; Role of Education; Second Language Learning; Self Determination; *Social Environment
IDENTIFIERS Asia; Caribbean; *Europe; Mediterranean Region

ABSTRACT

The proceedings of a colloquy on the education and cultural development of migrant women, sponsored by the Council of Europe's Council for Cultural Co-operation (CDCC), are summarized in this volume, which includes background papers, speeches, discussion summaries, recommendations, and bibliographies. The opening section explains the history of the colloquy and its intercultural approach and discusses three major goals: (1) to consider the extent to which women migrants and their daughters are able to take advantage of the social, educational, and cultural opportunities available in receiving countries; (2) to examine social and cultural factors that inhibit or encourage social and educational involvement; and (3) to identify practices that could lead to improvement. Separate sections are devoted to discussions of migration trends, the position of migrant women, the degree of their self-determination, differences between first and second generation women, and ways to bridge the gap between the migrant community and the receiving society. Specific topics include parental views of education, second language learning, job training, and discrimination. The appendices contain one general paper about European migration trends and policies and four papers concerning women from Caribbean, Mediterranean, and Asian countries settling in Europe. Also appended are reports of the working groups, recommendations, and a list of participants. (JHZ)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED272328

COUNCIL OF EUROPE

CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE

The CDCC's Project No. 7:

"The education and cultural development of migrants"

MAY 1986
RECEIVED
ERIC

Women and migration

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

W. J. Barrett

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

RC015728

COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL CO-OPERATION
School Education Division

Strasbourg
1986

COUNCIL OF EUROPE
CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE

Strasbourg 21 October 1985
DECS/EGT (85) 28

The CDCC's Project No. 7:
"The education and cultural development of migrants"

Colloquy on "Women and migration : cultural and educational aspects"

Strasbourg, 19-21 November 1984

General report by
Lotty van den Berg-Eldering
University of Amsterdam
Department of General and Comparative Education

Strasbourg
1986

CONTENTS

		Page
1.	BACKGROUND AND AIMS OF THE COLLOQUY	1
2.	COURSE OF THE COLLOQUY	2
3.	WOMEN AND MIGRATION: TRENDS AND POLICIES	4
4.	FROM A CULTURALIST TO A MULTI-FACETED APPROACH	6
5.	PARTICIPATION AND EMANCIPATION	11
6.	DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND GENERATION WOMEN ...	16
7.	BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN THE MIGRANT COMMUNITY AND RECEIVING SOCIETY	19
8.	RECOMMENDATIONS	24
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	27

APPENDIX

APPENDIX I	MEMORANDUM for the authors of papers to be presented at the colloquy By John SINGH	30
APPENDIX II	WOMEN AND MIGRATION: TRENDS AND PRIORITIES By Lotty van den Berg-Eldering	32
APPENDIX III	WOMEN OF SOUTH ASIAN ORIGIN IN BRITAIN: ISSUES OF EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION AND CULTURE By Avtar Brah	47
APPENDIX IV	A PERSONAL EXPERIENCE By Zoulika Boukortt	54
APPENDIX V	MEDITERRANEAN WOMEN IN BELGIUM By Silvana Pavone	56
APPENDIX VI	WOMEN MIGRANTS FROM SURINAM IN THE NETHERLANDS By Gloria Wekker	60
APPENDIX VII	REPORTS OF THE WORKING GROUPS	65
APPENDIX VIII	RECOMMENDATION N° R (79) 10	76
APPENDIX IX	LIST OF PARTICIPANTS	78

1. BACKGROUND AND AIMS OF THE COLLOQUY

In 1980 the Council of Europe's Council for Cultural Co-operation (CDCC) launched a five-year project, with two specific aims in mind:

- to develop and improve educational activities which could motivate children and adult migrants;
- to develop socio-cultural activities of migrants' children and their parents.

A basic option was made in favour of the inter-cultural approach, both as a principle and as an aim. This option is a result of four elements:

a. most of our societies have become multi-cultural and will become more and more so;

b. each culture has its own specific characteristics which, as such, are worthy of respect;

c. multi-culturalism is a potential source of enrichment;

d. to enable this potential to become a reality, there must be inter-penetration between all cultures concerned without effacing the specific identity of any; the multi-cultural situation must be stimulated to make it truly inter-cultural, with all the dynamism which this implies (in terms of communication and interaction, especially) (1).

It should be noted that «multi-culturalism», as understood here, describes a situation in which a multiplicity of different cultures are present, whereas «inter-culturalism» denotes a comprehensive sociological approach whose concern is the real life experience of all people, natives and immigrants, living in the host country. An approach which is able to take differences into account and to be receptive to a variety of values. Accordingly, inter-culturalism involves concentrating neither on differences nor on the need to assimilate; rather, it means using cultural differences and comparable social conditions as the basis for seeking mutual understanding and interchange and for breaking down the barriers between the various communities (2).

Stated simply, inter-culturalism is not an end in itself. It is mainly a tool to be used in promoting equality of chances and optimum integration into social and economic life.

In this field, the greatest danger lies in mere juxtaposition, isolation and mutual ignorance. Priority must therefore be given to links, connections, relations and contact areas (3).

---

(1) Cf. interim report of the project group on education and cultural development of migrants to the Council for Cultural Cooperation. (Doc. CDCC (84) 10).

(2) Cf. Migrant culture and culture of origin, by Mateo Alaluf, Council for Cultural Co-operation, Strasbourg 1982. (Doc. DECS/EGT (82) 4).

(3) Cf. Doc. CDCC (84) 10, op.cit.

Therefore this project on the education and cultural development of migrants, known as the CDCC's Project No. 7, during the five years of its existence, has studied the relationships between:

- school and the migrant family,
- school culture and family culture,
- child education and adult education, especially women and the new generation.

Since migrant women play an important role in all these relationships, it was thought relevant to organise a colloquy on migrant women and their participation in the social life of the receiving countries.

The aims of this colloquy, held from 19 to 21 November 1984 at Strasbourg, were:

- to consider the extent to which women who have migrated, and their daughters, are able to take advantage of the social, educational and cultural opportunities available in the receiving countries,
- to examine any social and cultural factors which inhibit or encourage social and educational involvement,
- to identify practices which could lead to any necessary improvements.

Several background papers were prepared for this colloquy: one general paper about the trends in migration and in policies in the European context, and several other papers concerning specific ethnic groups (women from Caribbean, Mediterranean and Asian countries). These background papers are included in the Appendix.

2. COURSE OF THE COLLOQUY

Opening speeches

In his opening speech Mr Maitland Stobart, the Head of the School Education Division of the Council of Europe, emphasised that the Council of Europe attached great importance to this colloquy and he expressed the hope that its results would contribute to the improvement of the situation of migrant women and their families.

Mr John Singh, Vice President of Project Group No. 7, gave an overview of the Council of Europe's work on behalf of migrants. The work of Project No. 7 is supervised by the Council for Cultural Co-operation, the body which, at the Council of Europe, is responsible for educational and cultural matters (CDCC). Among the past and present activities of this committee related to migrants, he mentioned:

- pre-school education for migrant children,
- the training of teachers of migrants' children,
- Project No. 12 on modern languages which has among its priorities: foreign language and second language teaching to migrants.

The CDCC, in its work on migrants as well as in its work on women, is closely linked to other major committees of the Council of Europe, such as:

- the Steering Committee for Human Rights,
- the Ad Hoc Committee for Equality between Women and Men,
- the Steering Committee on Intra-European Migration.

Ms Verity Saifullah Khan, Chairperson of the colloquy, in her introductory speech commented on the themes that were prepared by Project Group No. 7. She proposed to rephrase the original themes and put them in a broader setting, more in conformity with the point of view of members of minorities in general and women members in particular. This would counter-balance the culturalist perspective, which in her view is all too often implicit in much of the official discourse on migrants with its one-sided focussing on «the cultures» of ethnic minorities and «the problems» associated with them.

Values and customs of members of ethnic minorities however can only be understood once the dynamism of their cultures is seen in the context of their political and economic reality. There is a danger in talking about negotiable values in an abstract way which takes little account of the power dimension. The structure and ideology of the dominant majority is one of the fundamental determinants of the new emerging cultures of the children or the grandchildren of migrants. The analysis of the class position of ethnic minorities in Europe, their specific class locations in particular contexts and the structural position of women in general, is a prerequisite to our understanding of the distinctive forms of exclusion faced by women of ethnic minority background.

The colloquy itself: an enriching experience

As was mentioned before, the aims of Project Group No. 7 and the themes that were to be discussed were formulated in advance. For a variety of reasons however it proved to be not easy for the participants to limit themselves to these clearly formulated guidelines. The most obvious reason being that cultural and educational developments of migrant women cannot be detached from the wider political, economic and social context and the structural position of women within society. Another reason was the diverse backgrounds of the participants in national, professional, ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious respects.

It took some time to explore and understand each other's positions and specific involvement in the issues concerned. This process of accommodation resulted however in a fair amount of mutual understanding and cross-cultural enrichment. A third reason why such a great variety of topics was raised was that this colloquy was the first meeting of experts and migrant women in the context of the Council of Europe; little structural work, upon which the group could fall back, had so far been done. The presence of participants - mostly women - from highly diverse backgrounds produced some interesting differences of opinion, such as:

- the participants representing the countries of origin of migrant women and those (experts and migrant women) coming from the receiving countries had different ideas about the role of mother tongue teaching and the qualifications and training of teachers, social workers etc. The first group emphasised orientation on the country of origin, the second stressed the need for orientation on the country of settlement and its educational system;

- the participation of women from immigrant groups from former colonies, often with a history of slavery together with women belonging to migrant worker groups gave rise to discussions about the priority of racial or cultural issues. The former stressed the importance of racial discrimination in inter-ethnic relations, whereas the latter strongly emphasised the influence of cultural differences on inter-ethnic relations;

- recently immigrated women and women who are second or even third generation immigrants had differences of opinion as to the desired rate of change. The former were clearly very eager to change their position, whereas the latter warned that changes are not produced overnight. As an older participant pointed out: «You cannot expect to change in ten years what others took more than a hundred years to accomplish.»

3. WOMEN AND MIGRATION: TRENDS AND POLICIES

The migration of women is not an independent and isolated phenomenon. In most cases these women followed or accompanied their husbands, who had migrated for economical or political reasons. So the migration of women should be seen as part of a broader migration process, that has been going on between less developed countries and highly industrialised countries during the last decades. In this paragraph the recent trends in migration and in policies concerning migrants will be summarised. (For more details see the background paper of Van den Berg-Eldering in the Appendix.) If one wants to know more about the migration process, about the various groups that participate in this process, their numbers and the effects of migration, one is faced with a problem of terminology. Three criteria can be used to determine migrants, each of which emphasises a relevant aspect of their position (nationality, country of birth, minority status). In most countries only statistical material based on the nationality criterion is available with the exception of the United Kingdom, Sweden and the Netherlands. This results in a lack of knowledge about the degree of participation and integration of immigrants who have the nationality of the receiving countries. However recently one has become more and more aware of the likelihood that the social consequences of immigration influence the status of immigrants over several generations. The dividing line of nationality therefore tends to lose its relevance and more emphasis is placed on the criterion of minority status. Ethnic minority status of immigrant populations is mainly characterised by: a weak legal position, low socio-economic level and different ethnic origins. These three elements do not necessarily coincide: most immigrants from former colonies have the same legal status as indigenous residents, but their low socio-economic position and the effects of their different ethnic origin may well persist for generations!

Immigration to the north-western European countries is a relatively recent phenomenon, compared to traditional immigration countries such as America and Israel. Taking the last ten years the following trends in immigration can be seen:

- the total foreign population in the immigration countries of north-west Europe has grown, with the exception of Switzerland and Sweden. This is the result of two opposite trends: whereas the foreign populations from the northern part of the Mediterranean basin (Spain, Portugal, Italy, Yugoslavia and Greece) showed a tendency to decrease, those from the countries south of the Mediterranean Sea (Maghreb countries) and from Turkey increased both in absolute numbers and percentage-wise;

- the growth of the foreign populations has been accompanied by a radical transformation in age structure and sex ratio. In all countries, except Switzerland, young people (age between 0 and 24) account for 40% to 50% of the total foreign population. The family reunion of the migrant workers has resulted in a more balanced sex ratio (see table 2: Van den Berg-Eldering in the Appendix).

These features show that the migratory flow to the European countries has matured and is no longer to be considered a temporary phenomenon. Most European countries now assume that the migrants have become immigrants and that the migrant families have settled in the country. This means that the governments concerned are faced with a number of choices. First the choice of whether to adopt an integration policy or not. As long as migration is seen as a temporary phenomenon there is no need to develop an integration policy, but as soon as a government assumes that the migrants will stay for good, then a choice will become inevitable. Once a government has opted for an integration policy, a second choice has to be made, as to the premises and aims of such a policy and to the policy instruments to be used to achieve these aims. This is the choice between an integrationist or a pluralist approach. The former is based on the assumption that immigrants in the long run will adapt to the predominant culture of the country of settlement. The latter is based on the view that immigrants should be enabled to preserve their own culture and cultural identity as far as possible. Since the early '70s a certain amount of convergence can be seen in European policies. The more prominent features of these policies are: option for a restrictive admission policy, on account of the economic recession and growing feelings of xenophobia and for a policy of integration. Such a policy gives high priority to the accessibility of the existing public institutions in the fields of education, employment and housing. The question whether participation in this institutional framework should be encouraged by specific measures and provisions or not is crucial. Since the beginning of the '80s there is a growing awareness in the European countries that without specific provisions and measures the process of ethnic minority formation will continue for generations.

As will be explained in more detail in the following paragraphs there are hardly any statistical data concerning migrant women and their participation in the public life of the receiving society. So far migrant women have not been the subject of systematic attention on a national or international level, with some exceptions for Sweden. This is due to several reasons. First, as has already been pointed out, migration from less developed countries to industrialised European countries in the '60s and '70s was above all considered to be a temporary phenomenon. Most policy measures that were developed in those years concerned migrant workers rather than their dependent family members. Now, during the '80s, most European governments have become aware that this migratory flow has resulted in a permanent settlement of a large number of migrant families. Yet, although more than ever time is pressing to pay serious attention to migrant women, other issues are given priority

under pressure of the economic recession: the education and labour market position of the second generation migrants, unemployment rates and illegal immigration. So attention has shifted from the first generation workers to the second generation workers and migrant women of the first generation tend to become a forgotten category. But most of these women are still young and they play an important role in the upbringing of the second generation children and consequently in the integration process itself! Therefore systematic and continuous attention for migrant women and girls should be seen as a paying investment with a long-lasting output.

4. FROM A CULTURALISTIC TO A MULTI-FACETED APPROACH

Up till now no systematic and continuous attention on a national or international level has been given to issues concerning migrant women and girls. Hardly any statistics exist, which give exact data and figures about numbers of migrant women and girls and their degree of participation in the economic and social life of the country of settlement. This makes drawing conclusions about the differences between the first and second generation of migrant women in these respects a hazardous exercise.

In this paragraph we shall examine how the position of migrant women and girls in the receiving society can best be approached and interpreted. Up till about ten years ago these women and girls did not really figure in literature about migration. The way they are viewed is evolving from a total absence or stereotypical, mostly culturalistic approach to a perception, which takes into account the whole range of interacting variables that influence their position in the receiving country.

In the studies about migration of the first half of the '70s, migrant women are excluded or only mentioned as an appendix of a process they are not really taking part in. The main reason why they are neglected probably lies in the fact that in the context of migratory labour movements the predominant stereotypes of migrant women as economically inactive and dependent followers of male migrant workers prevailed and led to a lack of interest in migrant women. Another reason may be that migration was considered a temporary phenomenon even after the reunion of the family in the country of immigration. From the second half of the '70s on, the presence of migrant women could not be neglected any longer, since the numbers of migrant families have grown enormously and migrant women have become visible in social life. On top of this came the awareness that these families were to stay for good.

The interest in migrant women has been stimulated from several sides: by professional workers in the institutional framework of the receiving society, by women's «liberation» associations and by social researchers. Each group approached the issue of migrant women and girls from its own perspectives and goals. Professional workers were daily confronted with migrant women who did not speak the language of the new country and who had different behavioural standards. Women's «liberation» associations, discovering a new target group, were interested in the degree of emancipation of these women and girls after migration. Social researchers finally sought for a theoretical framework to describe and analyse the position of these women. Despite this variety in perspectives and focus, basically the issue of migrant women was approached in much the same way: the characteristic element of the approach was reduction of the position of migrant women to a set of stereotypes. This reductionist approach has been discussed in detail by Morokvasic (1983: 13). The reduction concerned mainly the following aspects: the role of migrant women, her backgrounds and her motives in migrating.

Migrant women: role-players without personality?

Migrant women are often depicted as wives and mothers, as women with a dependent status, and hardly ever as personalities in their own right with specific needs, expectations and aspirations. In their role of wives and mothers, they are represented as dependent, ignorant and isolated.

It cannot be denied that many women are in an isolated and dependent position, in particular during the first years after migration. But that does not necessarily mean that they are defenceless and inactive women, who are not able to define their own life situation and articulate their own needs.

Brah, for instance (see paper in the Appendix), strongly opposes this negative stereotype; in her view migrant women should be seen as active agents in the making of their own social history, although their responses to the situation may not always take the form familiar to a western observer or be centered around issues defined as relevant from a western frame of reference. Studies of the position of migrant women and girls should therefore include all the aspects of her life and not be limited to her roles within the family.

Backgrounds of migrant women

The backgrounds of migrant women and girls are often neglected, or reduced to a reconstructed stereotype. In the first case migrant women are viewed as immigrants without any life experience before migration. They immigrate as tabulae rasae as regards certain behavioural standards and their lives are analysed from the moment they enter the new country. In the second case changes in their life situation are measured against a reconstructed background. This background is not based on empirical research, but it is reconstructed with the help of the existing stereotypes in which migrant women are portrayed as oppressed, isolated, ignorant, non-working and constantly pregnant. Changes are measured against a tradition-modernity scale. Modernity is, in this view, synonymous with promotion, improvement and freedom. Outstanding features of modernity are paid work and contraception. Underlying this approach are the assumptions that migrant women before migration had no knowledge of and experience with paid work and family planning and that they are all striving for the western values of modernity. This ethnocentric approach produces not only a static image of the societies of origin, which in reality are in a process of rapid change, but it also underestimates the influence of the backgrounds of these women on their life after migration.

A more differentiating approach, that takes into account the variety in backgrounds of migrant women as well as the fact that women are personalities and not only role-players, has been developed by Taboada-Leonetti (1983). She divides migrant women in France into two categories, according to their backgrounds and their objectives; instrumental women (les femmes instrumentelles) and promotion-oriented women (les femmes promotionelles).

Instrumental women are predominantly country women and mothers of children. They view their migration especially in terms of economic betterment in the country of origin (to save for a house, land or a business) or of the

welfare of the family (higher standards of living, school education for the children). These women are initially functioning as stabilising factors in their family and in the migrant community, since they maintain traditional values and behavioural standards. When they accept paid work, they view this only as a temporary adaptation in order to achieve the family goals. This temporary adaptation does not essentially alter their position and standards. In the long run, however, their position within the family may become marginal, when the children are integrated in the new school system and no longer accept their standards and even refuse their food.

Migrant women of the second category mostly originating from urbanised areas in the home countries, do not see themselves only as wives and mothers. They perceive migration less in terms of family projects, but rather they aspire to improve their personal status and future. In the eyes of their husbands and of the migrant community these women act as destabilising factors, since they challenge traditional values and hierarchical structures concerning the relations between men and women. These promotion-oriented women may find themselves in a difficult position. On the one hand they are attracted by the opportunities of the receiving society to ameliorate their personal status. On the other hand they are confronted in that society with a growing xenophobia. One of the consequences is that they have an ambiguous attitude vis-à-vis their community, since they challenge its cultural standards and try to withdraw from the social control of the group. At the same time however they need its solidarity and protection against the growing hostility and discrimination from the outside. In the long run, these promotion-oriented women will more easily integrate in the new society and will not find themselves in a marginal position, like the instrumental women.

The approach of Taboada-Leonetti is useful in so far as it takes into account the regional differences in the countries of origin (country versus town), the phases in the life cycle of women (women without children and mothers) and it shows the interplay of these background variables with the migrant community and the receiving society. This typology however has also some drawbacks. One of its most important shortcomings is that it explains female or family migration in terms of individual motives and personal drives. Migrant women and families in this view have a free choice to migrate or to stay in the country of origin, according to their personal projects.

By focussing on individual motives behind the migration, structural forces and socio-cultural patterns in the countries of origin, which actually influence the process of decision-making to a considerable extent are neglected. The decision to migrate cannot be interpreted without taking into account these structural and cultural factors.

Moroccan women, for instance, appeared to be active agents behind the migration of the family to the Netherlands. They put their husbands before the choice of either returning to their home country to resume the responsibility for the family, or to let the family migrate to the Netherlands. During the long absence of the head of the family in Europe, the family staying behind was confronted with problems. These problems can only be understood against the background of the Moroccan culture and structure. One of the key values of the Moroccan culture is the segregation of the sexes resulting in a place for girls and women (the home and "home-yard") and one for boys and men (realm of public life). In areas where these rules concerning

the segregation of men and women are strictly observed, the departure of the head of the family makes a rearrangement of family roles inevitable. There are several options to solve this problem. Most frequently the responsibility for the family in public life is taken over by a «substitute-father», that is a grandfather, father's brother or a son. This results in a greater dependence on traditional family structures or else in a change in role patterns within the nuclear family. Only in the towns women gain a greater freedom outside their homes. In the long run however in many families problems arise, despite the adaptations in role patterns, especially when there are growing-up sons. They are drop-outs from school, or are not admitted to a school since they are above a certain age and they roam about the streets without sufficient control. When Moroccan women put their husbands before the choice to return or to let the family migrate, the man mostly chose the second option. This was not really a free choice either, since the high unemployment rate in Morocco made his return impossible anyway (Van den Berg-Eldering 1981: ch. 5).

The structural and cultural backgrounds of these women will influence their way of life long after they have migrated. During the first period of their stay these backgrounds are their only frame of reference according to which they evaluate their environments. However it would be a serious mistake to explain the position of migrant women and girls only in terms of these backgrounds. The situation of migrant women and girls after migration and the degree in which they participate in the social and economic life of the receiving country is also determined by the opportunities given and limitations set by this society, on a local or a national level. Often the situation of migrant women is explained by exclusively cultural factors. Brah (see Appendix) gives some excellent examples of these «culturalist» explanations.

She mentions a recent survey in England, according to which economic activity among Hindu and Sikh women was found to be much higher than among Muslim women. A reason frequently put forward to explain such differences in economic activity is that Muslim families do not permit female members to work outside the house. These exclusively culturalistic explanations are very inadequate, since they do not take into account factors such as the later migration of Muslim women from Pakistan compared with Hindu and Sikh women from India, and related to this their later arrival on the labour market in Britain, the socio-economic position of these women prior to migration, the local economic structure in the areas of settlement in Britain etc.

In the following paragraph we will give more examples of the interplay of all these factors.

The concept of culture

In the foregoing the concept of culture has been used several times. The reason that a sub-paragraph is dedicated to the concept of culture is that its use in the literature about migrants and migration may cause misunderstandings. In the writings of social scientists more than a hundred definitions of culture are given. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1963) for example have presented in their book entitled «Culture» more than 150 definitions given by anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists etc. The classic definition of culture is that of the early anthropologist Tylor (1891), who described it as «that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art,

morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society». A definition frequently used is that which characterises culture as an integrated system of learned behaviour patterns characteristic of the member of a society, or, more briefly, the way of life of any given social group. Central elements in these definitions are: culture is an integrated system, behaviour patterns are learned by the younger from the older generation and culture is a «property» shared by a group or a society.

The danger in the use of these definitions, concerning groups or societies that are in a process of rapid change, is that they suggest that culture is an autonomous, static and super-organic entity (force), which determines the behaviour of the members of the group or society rigidly. This approach underestimates the dynamic character of culture, the structural embedding and conditions of culture and cultural change and the creativity of individuals in role-playing and role-changing. In studying processes of cultural change, social researchers should have a keen eye for the variety of cultural patterns in space and time and the active way in which migrants define their new situation and create new behavioural patterns and roles.

As to the variety of culture in space and time: from the foregoing it may be clear that one cannot simply speak of migrants moving from one country and culture to another country and culture, as if there exist only two cultures: the culture of the country of origin and that of the receiving society. Not only do variations of culture exist in the country of origin according to regional differences and socio-economic classes, but also these varied cultures are constantly changing under the influence of the economic, political and social structures (industrialisation, urbanisation, education, migration). Industrialisation and urbanisation in the countries of origin for instance have resulted in a growing individuality and independence of the nuclear family. Labour migration which was stimulated by the economic structure of both the countries of origin and that of the receiving countries, has caused further cultural adaptations, as was shown in the example of Morocco. Culture cannot be detached from the structural context in which the group lives, neither before nor after migration.

Conclusions

From the foregoing the following conclusions can be drawn:

- migrant women and girls should not only be viewed as role-players (wives, mothers, daughters) with a derived status, but also as personalities in their own right, with specific needs and aspirations,

- the position of migrant women and girls should be analysed and interpreted, taking into account all the relevant factors that influence this position, such as:

  . cultural and structural backgrounds from the countries of origin,

  . cultural and structural factors within the family and migrant communities in the receiving society,

  . opportunities and impediments in the receiving society on a local and a national level,

- the concept of culture can be useful in studying processes of social change, only if one keeps in mind the dynamic as well as the static aspects of this phenomenon.

This multi-faceted approach makes the complexity and diversity of the situation of migrant women and girls in the receiving society manifest. This approach however suffers from an important drawback. That is to say one is easily inclined to conclude that diversity is the overriding factor that characterises their position and that no recommendations can be made nor can practical instruments be developed with a general applicability to improve their position in the receiving society.

In the following paragraphs the central issues which were discussed during the colloquy will be analysed in order to discover, through this diversity, elements which migrant women and girls have in common.

5. PARTICIPATION AND EMANCIPATION

An issue that has been discussed at length was the question whether migration has resulted in the emancipation and liberation of women. As has been pointed out in the foregoing paragraph in the literature this question is often answered in a stereotypical way. These answers either neglect previous life experiences of migrant women or they view these experiences in a stereotypical, usually negative way. According to the participants of the colloquy the emancipatory effects of migration are often overestimated. Especially the emancipatory effects of paid work, since migrant women have mostly low-paid jobs with high insecurity.

Before answering this question, the concept of emancipation should be defined. Key elements of the emancipation of women are the right to self-determination and to equal opportunities in society. To make this concept operational and measurable, the degree of participation in the institutions of the receiving society will be used as the main indicator of emancipation. The weak point of this indicator is that emancipation assumes adaptation to the institutional framework of the receiving society. Later on we will see that the right of migrant women to self-determination may result in requests to adapt the institutions to their specific needs or to introduce new institutions and jobs.

Since participation in the labour market is of crucial importance, this issue will be analysed in more detail. This analysis will be limited to an enumeration of factors, which influences this participation. As has been shown elsewhere statistics which could give an exact insight into the degree of participation are non-existent.

Cultural and structural backgrounds

Since migration, and especially female migration, is a relatively recent phenomenon, cultural and structural backgrounds will have a long-lasting influence. To demonstrate this, two groups of women will be compared: Creole Surinamese women and Moroccan women.

Characteristic of the Creole-Surinamese group is their matrifocal structure. Households are often composed of a core of related women (mother, sisters, cousins etc). These women, who in Surinam have always been used to

combine motherhood with paid work, are more than willing to work in the Netherlands. But their prospects are very poor on account of their low educational level and the current economic recession, which makes discrimination on racial grounds more manifest. However they attach much value to educational qualifications, as the saying among mothers in Surinam "a diploma is your real husband" demonstrates. But in these respects too their prospects are low, since there are few training courses (see Wekker's paper in the Appendix).

Moroccan women, on the contrary, especially those from the country, are not used to combining motherhood with a paid job. After their marriage they are confined to their home and "home-yard". More than 90% are illiterate. After migration most of them do not participate in the labour market. Moroccan women in the Netherlands who have paid work are mostly townswomen. These women make excellent use of the rights they have according to the Moroccan family law. By this law women have a right to control their own property and income. So, many townswomen with paid work try to save in order to buy golden ornaments in Morocco, considered to be "the bank of women". They work for a more secure future in case their husbands repudiate them. (van den Berg, Eldering, 1981, chapter 11).

These examples show that the starting position of women after migration may be very different on account of the various cultural standards, educational levels and aspirations.

Cultural and structural constraints in the migrant community

In most migratory flows, several stages can be distinguished. The first stage is characterised by the migration of workers, mostly male, without their families. This stage is followed by a second one in which the families of migrant workers join them in the new country. At the third stage, in which the migration process is maturing, ethnic communities evolve with specific institutions and facilities for migrant families (shops, religious centres, schools, ethnic associations etc) in the receiving countries. These ethnic communities may protect migrant families against psychological and cultural uprooting, but they may also throw up barriers against social change by the strong impact they have and social control they exercise on the behaviour of the individual members of the group and this holds especially true for women and girls. The impact of the community on the behaviour of its members may vary according to factors such as the exclusiveness of the community, its cultural and religious standards, the developing economical structures. The arrival of imams (religious leaders of the muslim communities) for instance after the recognition of Islam as the official religion in Belgium has resulted in a revival of orthodoxy, a reactive process against the loose values and standards of western society. The influence may also be strong when migrants from rural backgrounds settle in closed communities with a high percentage of ethnic entrepreneurs, as is the case with Greek-Cypriots and some Pakistani groups in Britain.

In the early 1960s Greek Cypriots came in large numbers to Britain. They came from a patriarchal culture, of which the arranged marriage system, importance of female sexual purity, rigid division of tasks and responsibility according to sex were outstanding features. First the male workers migrated. When the men sent for their wives and families some of them had accumulated a small amount of capital to start a small business of their own. For these

small firms, Cypriot women provided a pool of cheap labour. The patriarchal structure governing the family was extended to the work situation of Cypriot women. So Cypriot women in Britain suffer a «triple burden» as women, as migrants and as workers for migrant men. The women working in this ethnic economy do not join a trade union, despite the low job security and underpayment. The main reason for their unwillingness to organise is their identification with the employer and their fear of disloyalty to the ethnic group. Ethnic loyalty has priority over class loyalty (Anthias, 1983: 73).

Participation of migrant women in the economic and social life however cannot only be explained by background variables and constraints from the migrant community. The Greek Cypriot women, for instance, have to stay in the ethnic economy, since they have no alternatives in the receiving society.

Opportunities and constraints of the receiving society

The fact that nearly all the relevant European countries now assume that most immigrants will stay for good does not mean that they have developed a specific policy to promote the participation of immigrants in social and economic life. In some countries the immigrants are expected to integrate without any specific intervention from the government. In Switzerland and in Britain for instance no specific measures were taken; governments of these countries were, for different reasons, of the opinion that the existing regulations, provisions and institutions should equally apply to and be accessible to the immigrants. Other countries, for instance the Netherlands and Sweden, have developed a more direct integration policy; in these countries the equality of all residents is not only the underlying assumption, but also the ultimate aim of their policy. Belgium and France hold an intermediary position; the integration policy in these countries is concentrated on the removal of legal impediments to participation, rather than on the furtherance of factual participation (see Van den Berg-Eldering in the Appendix).

In evaluating the accessibility of institutions of the receiving society a distinction should be made between formal (legal) and informal impediments. These impediments are various in nature.

Legal impediments

It is impossible to give an exhaustive list of all the legal impediments that hinder full participation of migrant women and girls in the structures of the receiving society. I will give only a few examples mentioned during the colloquy:

- in some countries, men may request family reunion, but women may not;
- in most European countries residence and work permits for women are dependent upon their status as wives and daughters of male migrants. Therefore, in divorce cases, women may lose all their rights to stay and to work. In the Federal Republic of Germany for instance, wives of migrant workers are only permitted to look for a job after a period of four years;
- the nationality of children is often dependent upon the father. This may cause problems, especially in mixed marriages;

- in some countries immigrants cannot acquire jobs in the administration (eg teaching, police work, social work) without adopting the nationality of the country. This is especially disadvantageous for women, as they are the most obvious persons to function as «mediators» between the host and the migrant community.

No infrastructure for adult second language learning

In general, literacy is seen as a sine qua non condition to allow access to the culture and structure of the receiving societies. It is therefore amazing that in most receiving countries no infrastructure has been developed for adult education for migrants. As long as migration was considered to be a temporary phenomenon such an infrastructure to integrate migrant families in the new society and to facilitate their access to its institutions was not thought necessary. Since most male migrant workers migrated several years before their families joined them, they have already attained a level of language proficiency, which enables them to survive in the new environment. However, these male migrants will also never attain the "threshold" level (1) which is considered to be an absolute minimum to be able to communicate in a society with a foreign language. It is amazing how little systematic work has been done to determine the educational needs of the various immigrant groups (with regard to women: illiterate mothers of children, illiterate unmarried girls past school age, educated women and girls who want to have access to regular educational institutions etc) and to develop language and training courses for these target groups. The lack of provisions in the field of adult education has resulted in a lasting disadvantage for migrant women, compared with migrant men. The language problem is especially acute for women coming from countries with a high rate of illiteracy. These women not only have less access to the labour market and other institutions of the new society than their literate and educated sisters, but in the long run they will also occupy a marginal position within their own family and community. The working groups stressed that the struggle against illiteracy should have a privileged place in the activities of women's associations and warned that the housewives should not be left out of these activities.

Women and girls, from countries that were former colonies of the countries they now live in, may also have a language problem. Although they may have learned the language at school in their country of origin, at home most groups speak other languages. The language problems of children coming from former colonies are often underestimated at schools and this may result in stereotypes and prejudices about intelligence and future prospects.

Many literacy courses in the receiving countries are given by volunteers. Brah (see paper in Appendix) makes some critical remarks about the way the language-learners are approached and their mother-tongue is viewed. She criticises the «missionary approach» that views the language-learner as someone to whom «good works are done» and the «deficit model» according to which the mother-tongue is viewed as a backward language.

---

(1) This threshold level has been determined in the CDCC's Project No. 4 of the Council of Europe for the English, German and French languages (among others) (Louis Porcher: Education and culture, 1981: p. 97 and 98, Strasbourg).

Access to and promotion in the labour market

Most dependent family members sooner or later have access to the labour market. The accessibility to the labour market is however dependent on factors such as fluency in the language of the host country, educational and professional qualifications. Here migrant women, and especially those of the first generation, are again at a disadvantage.

Language factor: Migrant women are more disadvantaged than their husbands who have migrated several years before. The lack of fluency in the second language is indeed a serious handicap in acquiring paid work, but the value of this factor should not be overestimated, since it may be manipulated by employers in times of economic recession. While lack of fluency does not seem to be a decisive factor in hiring women in times of expansion, it is often used as an important argument not to hire migrant women in times of high unemployment. (Brah - see Appendix - states that the Asian women's supposed lack of fluency in English has been a key element in the ideological construction of the social imagery about them. She refers to a recent research, in which it was shown that even when Asian and Afro-Caribbean unemployed school-leavers are better qualified than their white counterparts they are less successful in their search for work. This issue of language in relation to access to the labour market should therefore be approached carefully.)

Discrimination: This last example shows that discrimination on linguistic grounds may cover racial discrimination. Racism and ethnocentrism, which are nearly always more or less latently present in societies where groups with different racial and ethnic backgrounds live together, may become more manifest in times of scarcity of economic resources. The cultural aspects of inter-ethnic relations are often over-stressed and the aspects of prejudice and discrimination on racial grounds are under-exposed.

Access to professional training: Once on the labour market, migrant women have few possibilities for social mobility. They are forced to stay on the lowest rungs of the social ladder, since either they have no formal access to professional training courses or they lack the qualifications needed to participate in these courses (fluency in the second language, educational qualifications).

Effects of the economic recession: In some groups, female migration has been stimulated by the economic prospects in the new country: this was especially the case with migrant women originating from the countries north of the Mediterranean basin. Until the beginning of the 70s these women had relatively easy access to the labour market. But there existed wide differences in their rate of employment according to nationality and country of settlement. In the Federal Republic of Germany for instance the percentage of married women with paid work in 1972 was 84% for Greek women, 72% for Yugoslavian women, 62% for Italian women and 58% for Turkish women (Brandt 1977: 41). These percentages were much higher than among German married women. In Belgium the average percentage of migrant women with a job was much lower, 24% in 1970 (Bareel 1979, no. 7, p. 11). From the second half of the 70s the economic situation of migrant women has changed in two respects: firstly the official unemployment rates among these women have grown enormously and secondly more migrant women and girls have been involved in the informal sector of the economy (work at home or in the ethnic economy).

Besides drawbacks such as underpayment, low job security and lack of social insurances, this development may result in a greater isolation of these women, since they have fewer contacts with the receiving society and are therefore deprived of the opportunity to learn the language in a natural situation. Moreover non-participation in the labour market reduces the motivation to learn the language of the receiving society.

6. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND GENERATION WOMEN

In what respect is the situation of second generation girls different from that of their mothers and how to evaluate the differences? To answer this question a point of reference is needed but, as has been pointed out in the foregoing paragraphs, the position of first generation migrant women is poorly documented. The position of migrant girls is the outcome of the interaction between the culture of their parents, the standards in the migrant community and the opportunities they get in the receiving society. There is at least one important point of difference with their mothers and that is that they have had the opportunity to go to school and learn the language of the country they live in. This makes them less dependent on others for contacts with institutions in the receiving society than their mothers. This is especially true for the true second generation: the children who are born in or have migrated before school-age to the new country. In most European countries one can discern two relevant categories of children of first generation migrants.

Half-way generation: the children who have migrated half-way through their schooling. They may have had some years of education in their country of origin, or even followed a few years of secondary education. After migration they are either admitted to primary schools in classes below their age, or placed in secondary schools, where they are not only confronted with language problems but also with a difference in educational levels. Even when secondary schools have taken special measures to facilitate the accommodation of these children (absorption classes, second-language teachers, extra-curricular courses) their prospects are very poor.

In a recent research carried out in the Netherlands among pupils of special absorption classes in secondary education it was found that more than one third of them had left school without a diploma and that only one (of the 398 pupils) had acquired a diploma after three years. The rest of the children, who after one or more years flowed to regular classes, stayed almost all in the lowest forms of vocational training (Faase and Risseeuw, 1984).

These problems are particularly acute for girls, who in general have had less schooling in the country of origin than their brothers. They have more trouble linking up with the educational levels at secondary schools, especially when they are illiterate, as is the case with many girls coming from North Africa. Their parents are quickly inclined to withdraw them from school, even if they are of compulsory school age, and let them work or stay at home to help their mothers. The main argument these parents use in front of educational authorities is that their religion does not allow girls of puberty age to mix freely with boys in education. These cultural or religious explanations are often only half the truth. Most parents are aware that these elder girls have no real chances in the educational system of the receiving society, but they are often too modest or polite to express these views openly in front of teachers. The problems these girls experience after migration often remain unnoticed, since their frustrations do not result in openly deviant behaviour, in contrast with their brothers.

Second generation children: In the near future almost all migrant children, who go to school will either have been born in the new country or have migrated before school age. How these children will find their way through the school system and afterwards on to the labour market, is of crucial importance. Only after they have finished their schooling can the question of whether there will be a structural ethnic stratification in society be answered. However school success proves to be not the only factor which determines the process of minority formation. Several studies have already shown that racial prejudice and discrimination govern the access to the labour market too.

Family and education

The family and the school are the most important socialising institutions in the life of children. It is a basic educational doctrine that school education should link up with everyday life. The few studies conducted in this field nearly all conclude that there is a culture gap between these two agencies of cultural transmission, resulting in socialisation deficiencies of migrant children of school age, even when they were born in the new country. This means that these children, even before they start school, already have an educational gap compared with indigenous children. Most of these studies however limit themselves to a survey of migrant fathers and their perception of education and values attached to it. The role migrant mothers play in this socialisation process and the way in which they could be more involved in the formal and informal education of their children, has as yet never been systematically studied. An inquiry in Western Germany has revealed how serious the consequences of linguistic alienation between mother and children may be. Out of 100 migrant women, non-working with at least two children of talking age, 81 mainly or exclusively spoke with their children in their native language, although only 35% of those children used that language when talking to each other (Brandt, 1977: 85). This linguistic alienation was also found among traditional immigrant women in France (Femmes et immigrées, 1978: 111, 136). The mothers, in the German inquiry, when asked if their children had problems, most frequently answered that their children had language problems at school and that unfortunately they could not help them with their homework. In the long term this alienation will grow deeper, when mother and child no longer have common experiences and will thus live in two separate worlds, each with its own system of values, norms and behaviour. It is of the highest importance that special projects be developed, which focus on mother-child interaction at home and on the involvement of mothers in the formal education of their children. In paragraph 8 some recommendations on these issues will be given.

Parental views of school education

In general, migrant parents have high aspirations about the future of their children. The educational opportunities in the receiving country may have been an important incentive for the migration of the family. Although most migrant parents are, in socio-economic terms, «working class», their expectations have always come closest to those of the middle class. Tomlinson (1984, ch. 4) concludes on the basis of research that «whatever the class position, educational levels and colonial backgrounds of migrant parents, they mostly share high expectations about education, and they view schools as places where children's life chances should be enhanced» (p. 52).

There are however differences between migrant parents and indigenous middle class parents. Migrant parents have high expectations for their children, but they lack the knowledge of what actually goes on in school (organisation, curriculum, examinations); nor do they have detailed knowledge about the school routes that lead to the desired goals. (See also Wilpert for Turkish and Yugoslavian children in Berlin.) As a consequence of the mismatch between the initial expectations and the actual outcomes of schooling, they change their attitude and lower their expectations of the educational system. Their reactions may be different according to the expectations of the ethnic groups.

Tomlinson (1984: 53) for instance compares Caribbean and Asian parents in Britain. Caribbean parents' expectations have, from the early 1960s, centred around the view that schools would be able to offer their children «equality of opportunity» and that this would be reflected in examination passes. Anxiety and frustration has resulted from the inability of schools to satisfy these expectations. These parents want a traditional curriculum, with disciplined relations between teachers and pupils and they do not want multicultural innovation designed to enhance the sense of cultural identity of their children. (See also Stone, 1981.)

Asian parents, on the contrary, are disappointed since the school does not accommodate cultural and religious diversity. They want more religious and mother-tongue teaching and are anxious about co-education of boys and girls. In both groups the disappointment has led to demands for additional and supplementary schooling.

The disappointment of parents will grow even deeper when they realise that their children, even if they have the same qualifications as indigenous children, have less chances on the labour market. Several researches have shown that parents, when they grow aware of the priority of racial prejudice and discrimination over educational qualifications on entering the labour market, lower their expectations of education.

«Parents thus seem less likely to dwell on education in England where attending secondary school is part of nearly every child's experience. Many migrants' children have moreover qualified for what their parents consider to be prestigious jobs; nursing and clerical positions, in the case of daughters, and skilled manual or low-level white-collar positions in the case of sons. But access to elite educational institutions in Britain is indeed a very scarce resource, so scarce that it is not a realistic goal for the overwhelming majority of the migrants' children. And this has to do with racial prejudice and discrimination, perhaps the most important factor in understanding the different meaning that education has to Jamaicans at home and in England», Nancy Foner about Jamaicans in Britain (1977: 136, 137).

In the first six years of their lives children learn the language and the basic values, attitudes and norms of their culture. Children who during this period were in their home country have developed a monocultural basic personality. Children who migrate during this phase of enculturation or who are born in the country of settlement may undergo influences from more than one culture and language. It will be more difficult for these children to integrate these various influences into a harmonious personality, particularly when the values, norms and languages are divergent or even mutually exclusive. (Boos-Nünning, 1980: 76, Hohmann, 1980: 100.) For girls, who are confronted at home with a strong patriarchal structure in which daughters are supposed to play a subordinate role, and at school with

an egalitarian structure in which individuality, independence and self-determination are encouraged, this process may be extremely painful. Sometimes they do not manage to cope with these contradictory demands, in particular during their adolescence. In these situations the girls choose the following strategies: they try to escape the control of their family and even sever their ties with the family, or else they try to negotiate with their family about a way of life satisfying both parties. Examples of the first strategy are: accepting a marriage prematurely, getting pregnant (in the case of Creole Surinamese girls), leaving school for work in order to be independent of the father, running away from home to escape a marriage arranged by the parents. These solutions in the long run are detrimental to the development of their personality. Zoulika Boukortt (see paper in Appendix) chose the other strategy; she viewed the school as a protection and pitied other girls, who were married or sent back to Algeria.

«The lycée would protect me. How many girls of my age were married against their will or sent back to Algeria to stay with an aunt because their papers had been stolen by their mother or even their older sister? How can I describe the humiliation of a gynaecological examination to obtain a 'virginity certificate' for the family to exhibit at weddings or funerals? How many girls broke off ties with their families to avoid that, or who are now prostitutes? But I could also talk about the solitude of fathers who understand nothing of all this, of the unhappiness of a 'traditional' mother who starts to realise that her own life has been a waste, considered a 'red Fatma' for having dared to say she's not called Fatma and would like, at last, at 50, to learn to read.»

Problematic behaviour of migrant boys becomes more manifest in public and is viewed more in terms of risks for the receiving society (juvenile delinquency, marginalisation etc). Investigations into these problems are therefore mostly confined to boys. Problems which girls experience as a result of contradictory influences from both cultures remain mostly unnoticed, since they are «digested» intra-physic or «solved» in ways which are not spectacular nor considered threatening for the public order of the receiving society. The case of Boukortt however shows that these problems may be very acute for girls and that the solutions they choose to solve their problems, voluntarily or not, are in the long run detrimental to the development of their personality. It is therefore necessary in the short run to investigate the specific problems girls meet in their identity formation and to explore how these problems could be prevented (special programmes at school, more parent involvement in school activities) and solved (social work, legislation).

7. BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN THE MIGRANT COMMUNITY AND THE RECEIVING SOCIETY

It is not an easy task to compare the position of migrant women and girls coming from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds and living in European societies with different policies regarding immigration and immigrants and to draw conclusions with a general validity about this position.

However diverse their position may be, these women share some features, which determine their way of life in the receiving society to a large extent. These are the low degree of involvement and participation in the structures of the receiving society and the lack of facilities to organise themselves in order to articulate and voice their own needs and demands.

So far migrant women and girls are a neglected social category in policy, research and in social action. They play however a crucial role in the integration of the family after migration. Most of the recommendations of this colloquy centred therefore on the key role migrant women and girls could and should play in bridging the gap between migrant and indigenous communities. The proposals made to that effect during the sessions of the working groups were of two kinds: the first category emphasised that migrant women should be appointed in jobs in which they could play the role of «mediator» or «social broker» between both communities; the second category emphasised the importance of participation of migrant women on a collective base.

Migrant women as «mediators» and «social brokers»

An effective way to stimulate the involvement and participation of migrant women in the institutions of the receiving society (educational, health care, social work institutions etc) might be to appoint migrant women to posts from which they could function as «mediators» between the ethnic community and the institutions concerned. This could be attained by:

- Improving the accessibility of professional training courses and professional jobs (teachers, social workers, nurses, interpreters, police-women etc). This kind of option can only be successful if there are sufficient numbers of potential candidates of the second generation and if legal impediments for foreigners to be appointed to these jobs have been removed. In several European countries migrant women with a foreign nationality cannot even be appointed to jobs which have as their main task to work on behalf of migrant women or children (eg social worker). Most migrant women of the first generation do not have the linguistic and educational levels required to be admitted to professional training courses. For them pre-vocational courses have to be developed. It is however clear that in general this option will prove to be effective only in the long run after a second generation of girls has grown up.

- Developing new roles (ethnic jobs). In most immigration countries new roles have been developed after the arrival of large numbers of migrant families. The most well-known example is the mother-tongue teacher, an ethnic job explicitly meant to teach migrant children their mother-tongue or the official language of their country of origin and cultural/religious subjects. Over the past years there has been a lot of discussion about the various aspects of this mother-tongue teaching, such as the factual contents of the lessons, its political and/or religious orientation, the qualifications of the teachers, the pedagogical styles of teaching, the responsibilities of the countries of origin and settlement. Again during the colloquy the notions of the representatives of the countries of origin and those of the migrant experts from immigration countries about these issues appeared to be divergent. The representatives of the countries of origin stressed the importance of maintaining the curriculum of the country of origin and the teaching and recyling of teachers in their home country, among other things in view of a possible return. On the contrary, migrant experts from the countries of settlement underlined the necessity of adapting mother-tongue teaching, with regard to contents as well as to teaching styles, to the educational system of the society in which the children actually live. In general mother-tongue teachers have been trained in the countries of origin. They are selected from the migrant population or have been directly recruited in, or sent by, the countries of origin. As a result female teachers are in general

under-represented, in particular among the teachers from Islamic cultures. Up to now hardly any training courses for minority language teaching have been developed in the European countries. (Sweden is an exception with basic teacher training and in-service training of teachers in this field.)

The main task of mother-tongue teachers concerns migrant children directly. Their curriculum is becoming more bilingual and bicultural. This mother-tongue teaching however, even if it occurs during regular school hours, often remains an isolated part of the curriculum and it does not necessarily lead to an improvement of relations between the school and the migrant family. By way of counterbalance some countries have developed a new «ethnic job», that of the so-called «school-contact person» or «community aide». These jobs with a professional or paraprofessional status are explicitly developed in order to involve parents more in the school education of their children. Migrant women could play a key role in bridging the gap between migrant families and the school if they were appointed in greater numbers to these jobs. A secondary effect would be that it would provide migrant women with new models of identification. In order to make these jobs accessible to migrant women of the first generation the requirements should be low. We will give three examples of these new paraprofessional jobs.

Since the school year 1979/80 nursery and primary schools with more than 250 pupils from ethnic minorities in the Netherlands can get facilities for a so-called «school-contact person». Applicants to this job must have a Dutch or foreign teaching degree. His or her main tasks are: to inform migrant parents about the schooling of their children and Dutch teachers about what is going on in the migrant families and communities, and to improve the co-operation between the school and the migrant families. After three years, an evaluation carried out by the inspectorate showed that the new job was viewed positively, but that relations between the schools and the migrant families remained superficial, since these school-contact persons had to cover several schools.

In the Dutch context only persons with a teacher's qualification can apply for these jobs. This requirement excludes most migrant women. In countries with a longer tradition of immigration, ethnic jobs with a para-professional status have been developed, in order to give migrant women more chances to play an intermediate role.

Warren (1983: 121) describes, for instance, a language maintenance bilingual, bicultural programme in an elementary school with a high proportion of Mexican-American children in California. One of the fundamental elements of this programme was to involve parents more in the school education of their children. The establishment of parent advisory groups and their integration into planning, implementation and review of programme proposals were even a prerequisite to funding. To that end a community aide has been appointed. The tasks of the community aide are similar to those of the Dutch school-contact person. In contrast to the last-mentioned, a community aide can be appointed without having teacher qualifications. The qualifications for this position are stipulated as follows: knowledge of the community resources, school programme and policies and of the general purposes and goals of education; ability to read, write and speak Spanish fluently, ability to be responsive to parental concerns and encourage them to participate in school activities and the equivalent of the completion of the 12th grade. Remarkable in this programme is the connection between parental involvement in the schooling of their children and adult education classes. It is also the task of the community aide to recruit parents for these classes.

A similar connection between parental involvement in the education of the child and adult education is to be found in HIPPY, the Home Instruction Programme for Pre-school Youngsters in Israel. This programme, developed in 1968 by Dr. Avima Lombard of the School of Education of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem and tested and evaluated during the years 1969-72, is today being implemented throughout the country. In 1982-83 more than 16,000 families in 120 towns and villages were participating in the project. The principal idea of the programme is to help the disadvantaged mother educate her pre-school child in the home. This is to be done through a series of specially prepared and programmed materials covering a three-year period. The mother will learn new attitudes and skills congruent with the demands of modern schooling and will gain more confidence in her ability to help her child learn. The child will develop intellectually so that he will be ready to learn at school and thus not begin the cycle of failure that is often caused by cultural disadvantage. Paraprofessional aides are employed to implement the HIPPY programme. These aides are chosen from the community of the population they serve. The underlying assumption is that these paraprofessionals will not only be able to perform the formal instructional task, but will also act as a model of identification for the mothers. They do not need professional qualifications but they are trained and supervised by a professional co-ordinator. Project families are visited weekly or every two weeks by the paraprofessional aides. They are the links between these families and the project staff. The evaluation of the first years has shown that this programme has had a positive effect not only on the children (cognitive development, behavioural changes in school, more motivation to learn), but also on their mothers and the paraprofessionals. All expressed a desire for further education and they felt more involved in the home and school education of their children (Research in Action, 1979, ch. 2 HIPPY).

Several features of the project have attracted international attention to HIPPY. One is the focus on the home setting and its reaffirmation of the key role of the parent as educator; further, because HIPPY relies heavily on relatively low-paid personnel and finally because it is regarded as a model of successful co-operation between researchers and local communities/ professionals (theory and practice). In December 1982 an international workshop on HIPPY took place in Israel at which representatives from 14 countries participated. Today the HIPPY programme is being tried out in various cultural environments: among others in the United States, (Boston) among a group of black, unmarried teenage mothers and in Turkey, (Istanbul). The materials of the programme have been translated into English, Spanish and Turkish.

The three examples given above all concern the relation between migrant women and the school education of their children. Also, in other fields of public life (health institutions, social work etc) examples could be found of ethnic jobs which would give migrant women a chance to play a mediating role between migrant families (women) and the institutions concerned.

It might be a good suggestion for a follow-up of Project No. 7 to explore, evaluate and experiment with existing models of these mediating para-professional jobs.

Migrant women's associations

Involvement and participation of migrant women can also be attained on a more collective basis by migrant parents' advisory boards and migrant women's associations. In nearly all the working groups and background papers, proposals

were made to let migrant women's associations play a greater role in community affairs and in policy-making on a local and a national level. Underlying these proposals is the assumption that migrant women are perfectly capable of defining their own situation and articulating their specific needs and demands. What Brah (see Appendix) remarks about Asian women also holds true for migrant women from other groups:

«In marked contrast to the stereotype, Asian women are active agents in the making of their social history, although their responses may not always take the form familiar to a Western observer or be centred around issues defined as relevant from a Western frame of reference.»

With this last sentence Brah touches a sensitive point which was also raised during the colloquy, ie who defines and evaluates the situation of migrant women and their needs? Is it the women themselves, the highly educated women among them, the majority culture women and their associations, the migrant community, in which men play a dominant role, the policy-makers of the receiving country or the authorities of the country of origin? All these parties define the situation from their own perspectives in a different way. There may be wide divergencies between needs perceived by outsiders and needs felt by the migrant women themselves. Two points however are clear: the governments of the countries of settlement have the right to define the fundamental principles and values on which a policy on behalf of migrant women should be based, but the migrant women concerned, although they have the right to articulate their demands and develop their own programmes on a local and a national level, do not get sufficient support to do so.

In all the working groups it was emphasised that the governments of the countries of settlement should provide priority aid for associations of migrant women, allowing them to grow stronger and to become more involved in community affairs and in policy making.

The organising power of migrant women depends not only on various factors such as the degree of literacy of the women in general or the presence of an educated elite among them; but also on whether they were used to organising themselves in their country of origin and finally on their knowledge of structures, facilities and funding mechanisms of the country of settlement.

Women from the Caribbean countries for instance have already attained a higher degree of formal organisation than Algerian or Moroccan women. The first group of women have in general a greater fluency in the second language, a higher educational level and have got more experience in organising themselves. Wekker (see Appendix) mentioned the programmes of Surinamese women in the Netherlands that are in course of preparation or already being carried out: community centres in big cities, a home for battered wives, an emergency telephone line, a specific Surinamese documentation centre.

Brah also mentioned in her paper (see Appendix) self-help groups of Asian women with their various activities.

But how to proceed with migrant groups, in which the majority of women are illiterate, lacking fluency in the second language? Should one wait until a second generation of girls has grown up to develop specific associations or should majority women take their places temporarily? Both options have their pros and cons. The more traditional women have often developed

informal networks by which information is spread. It would be advisable for these informal networks to be transformed in more formal ones around community centres especially set up for migrant women. Ethnic community aides could function as mediators to that end.

An example of such a community centre is the centre for migrant women at Tilburg, the Netherlands. In this centre about 400 women and girls of various nationalities meet weekly to take a course (varying from a literacy course in the mother-tongue or in Dutch to a pre-vocational training course), participate in formation activities (sewing, knitting, swimming, dancing, typing and information meetings), or to get a training for the management of women's association. The para-professional workers from this centre have contacts with institutions and agencies (social work, health care, employment bureau, lawyers) to mediate on behalf of the migrant women and girls. This project has been subsidised by the Ministry of Welfare, Health Care and Culture of the Netherlands. (Fatma, Leyla, Aïcha, educatie, alfabetisering en zelforganisatie van buitenlandse vrouwen in Tilburg, 1982.)

The way migrant women could be supported to set up their own associations depends on the organisational skills of the women concerned and on local circumstances. But in any case receiving societies should give priority aids (financial, organisational and training of management staff) to women to set up their own associations to be more involved in community affairs. But on a national level too, co-ordination of migrant women's associations is desirable to voice their demands and to influence the process of policy-making on a macro-level.

8. RECOMMENDATIONS

On several occasions recommendations concerning migrant women have been made in the context of the Council of Europe: Recommendation No. R (79) 10 of the Committee of Ministers to member states (adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 29 May 1979) and Recommendation 956 (1982) of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (adopted by the Standing Committee, acting on behalf of the Assembly on 9 November 1982). Both recommendations emphasise equal treatment and equality of opportunities between men and women and between migrant women and indigenous women. While the recommendation of 1979 focusses on migrant women as workers (it pleads for the right to equal pay for work of equal value, to equal treatment in professional activities, in the field of social security, unemployment benefits and family allowances, to the benefits of vocational guidance, vocational training and permanent education etc), the recommendation of 1982 also gives attention to other aspects of the situation of migrant women. (For instance to their dependent legal position, to the accessibility of institutions (health care facilities), and to the specific situation of second generation women.)

Recent writings about migrant women and the discussions during the colloquy too made it very clear that as yet there is no question of effective equality of opportunities and treatment in most receiving countries.

However, rather than repeating the recommendations of 1979 and 1982 the meeting preferred to work out some of the proposals to ensure a fuller participation and a greater involvement of migrant women and their daughters in the life of the receiving societies.

Research

In the 1982 recommendation the governments of the member states are invited:

«to encourage continued research on the situation of migrant women at international and national levels, in co-operation with the international organisations and voluntary agencies dealing with the problems of migrants in general and migrant women in particular».

If equality of opportunities and of participation in the institutions really are to be objectives of an integration policy, then statistical data should be available to give a better understanding of the course of this process of integration and of the differences between the various ethnic groups and between the first and following generations. Several times during the colloquy one came to the conclusion that the situation of migrant women of the first and second generation is poorly documented.

1. The first recommendation is that statistical research that produces data about the participation of migrant women and girls in the institutions of the receiving society should have high priority (labour market, educational system, housing, social work and health care). This means that statistics concerning migrants in general and migrant women in particular have to take into account variables relevant to this end such as: sex, marital status, age category, age of immigration or duration of stay in the receiving country, country of birth and nationality. To follow this process of integration it would be desirable to produce specific statistical material on migrant women. In the 1982 recommendation attention is also given to the second generation migrant women, since the member states are invited:

«to ensure that the situation of migrant women of the second generation be the subject of a particular protection so as to give these women a real choice of education and in employment while respecting and guaranteeing the free expression of their ethnic and cultural heritage».

It has been concluded that the problems these girls are facing often remain unnoticed or receive hardly any attention, since they are not viewed as a risk threatening the public order of the receiving societies. In most background papers it was mentioned that these girls often choose solutions to their problems which may be detrimental to the development of their personality.

2. A second theme for research, which should receive high priority, concerns the development of personality and the problems of second generation migrant girls by living in two cultures. This research should include a part which focusses on the situation of migrant girls in the school system, and a part which deals with the problems of adolescent girls and the development of a methodology for social workers to deal with such problems.

Both issues should be carried out by an international team of researchers.

Marginalisation or participation?

It is obvious that comparing the position of migrant women and girls coming from various ethnic backgrounds and living in the respective European countries is not an easy task. One is quickly inclined to conclude that diversity is the overriding factor in their situation. There is however one feature that most of these women have in common: a low degree of involvement and participation in the institutions of the receiving society.

Rather than concentrating on the «negotiability» or «changeability» of values and cultures, measures should focus on the structural position of migrant women in society to ensure a higher degree of involvement and to prevent further marginalisation.

3. Setting up an infrastructure for second language courses. Second language fluency is a sine qua non condition for access to the culture and structure of the society of settlement. It is therefore amazing that most countries do not have an infrastructure for language courses. Setting up such an infrastructure and developing materials on behalf of the various categories of migrant women should receive high priority.

Migrant women as mediators

The marginal position of migrant women of the first generation in the receiving society and even within their own family has been discussed extensively. In all the working groups, proposals have been made to prevent further marginalisation. In paragraph 7 several examples have been given of mediating roles which migrant women could play to bridge the gap between their community and the indigenous local community. (School-contact persons in the Netherlands, community aides in Mexican-American communities in the United States, the Home Instruction Programme for Pre-school Youngsters (HIPPY)).

4. We suggest as a follow-up to Project No. 7 to investigate, evaluate and carry out existing models, in which migrant women play a mediating role between their community and the local institutions. The HIPPY programme calls for special mention, because of its far-reaching effects on various levels (development of the children, mother-child interaction, involvement of the community). This HIPPY programme could be carried out among several ethnic groups, since its materials have already been translated into English, Spanish and Turkish.

Support for migrant women's associations

Another category of proposals made during the colloquy centred around a more collective way of involvement and participation: migrant parents' associations and migrant women's associations. Underlying these proposals is the assumption that migrant parents and migrant women are perfectly capable of defining their situation, and articulating their needs.

5. Therefore receiving countries should provide priority aid (financial, organisation, training of management staff) for associations of migrant women, allowing them to grow stronger and be more involved in community affairs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anthias, Floya — 1983: Sexual divisions and ethnic adaptation: the case of Greek Cypriot women. In: Phizacklea, Annie (ed). One way ticket: migration and female labour. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Bareel — 1979: nr. 7 Belgium.

Berg-Eldering, van den, Lotty — 1981: Marokkaanse gezinnen in Nederland (Moroccan families in the Netherlands). Samsom, Alphen aan de Rijn.

Berg-Eldering, van den, Lotty — 1984: Women and migration: trends and priorities. Paper prepared for the Colloquy on Women and Migration, Council of Europe DECS/EGT (84) 76 (see Appendix).

Boos-Nünning, Ursula — 1980: Lernprobleme und Schulerfolg. In: Hohmann Manfred (hrsg). Unterricht mit ausländischen Kindern. Alfa Publikation.

Boukortt, Zoulika — 1984: A personal experience. Paper prepared for the Colloquy on Women and Migration. Council of Europe. DECS/EGT (84) Misc. 98 (see Appendix).

Brandt, Franz — 1977: Situationsanalyse nichterwerbstätiger Ehefrauen ausländischer Arbeitnehmer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Bundesministerium für Jugend, Familie und Gesundheit, Bonn.

Faase and Risseeuw — 1984: De internationale schakelklas: eerste halte of eindstation? Erasmus universiteit Rotterdam. (International absorption class.)

Fatma, Leyla, Aïcha — 1982: Edukatie, alfabetisering en zelforganisatie van buitenlandse vrouwen in Tilburg. (Education, literacy courses and associations of migrant women in Tilburg.)

Femmes et immigrées — 1978: L'insertion des femmes immigrées en France. Isabel Taboada-Leonetti, Florence Lévy. Migrations et sociétés, 4. Ministère du travail et de la participation. Paris.

Foner, Nancy 1977: The Jamaicans: cultural and social change among migrants in Britain. In: James L Watson (ed.). Between two cultures. Migrants and minorities in Britain. Basil Blackwell. Oxford.

HIPPY 1979: Home Instruction Programme for Pre-school Youngsters. In: Research in Action. Prepared and written for the NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education. School of Education. Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Hohmann, Manfred 1980: Theoretischen Grundlagen einer künftigen Konzeption des Unterrichts mit ausländischen Kindern: Grundlagen und Ziele. In: Manfred Hohmann (hrsg). Unterricht mit ausländischen Kindern. Alfa Publikation. Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann, Düsseldorf.

Kroeber A L and Kluckhohn C 1963: Culture. A critical review of concepts and definitions. Vintage Books, New York.

Morokvasic, Mirjana 1983: Women in migration: beyond the reductionist outlook. In: Annie Phizacklea (ed.). One way ticket. Migration and female labour. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Stone, Maureen 1981: The education of the black child in Britain. The myth of multiracial education. Fontana Paperbacks.

Taboada-Leonetti, Isabelle 1983: Le rôle des femmes migrantes dans le maintien ou la destructuration des cultures nationales du groupe migrant. In: Études Migrations. Revue trimestrelle, Centro Studi Emigrazione Roma. Nr. 70.

Tomlinson, Sally 1984: Home and school in multicultural Britain. Education in multicultural society. Batsford Academic and Educational Ltd. London.

Warren, Richard L 1983: The application of ethnographic research in multicultural education. In: L van den Berg-Eldering e.a. (eds.). Multicultural education: a challenge for teachers. Foris Publications, Dordrecht, Cinnaminson.

Wekker, Gloria 1984: Women migrants from Surinam in the Netherlands. Paper prepared for the Colloquy on Women and Migration. Council of Europe DECS/EGT (84) Misc. 62 (see Appendix).

Wilpert, Czarina 1980: Die Zunkunft der zweiten Generation. Erwartungen und Verhaltensmöglichkeiten ausländischer Kinder. Verlag Anton Hain-Königstein/Ts.

APPENDIX I

MEMORANDUM for the authors of papers to be presented at the colloquy

By John SINGH

1. This colloquium will consider the extent to which women who have migrated to Council of Europe member states and their daughters who may have been born in those countries are able to take advantage of the range of social and educational opportunities that are available to the majority populations. The discussions will focus on any social and cultural factors which inhibit or encourage social and educational involvement and attempt to identify practices which could lead to any necessary improvements.

2. Over three days only a limited number of issues will be capable of in-depth discussion and these are listed below. Those preparing papers are asked to develop these issues in not more than 15 pages of typescript.

3. The opening section of the paper should state the factual overall position of the cultural/ethnic group under consideration. This will include some discussion of national origins, the extent to which the group are represented, migration and settlement patterns, ie in concentrations or dispersed, major cultural factors such as religious affiliations, languages spoken, etc, and a general view of the educational and social development of the group.

4. The following four sections of the paper should include the following areas of discussion.

a. The differing needs and expectations of first and second generation migrant/ethnic minority women and girls. This section should explore the changes that have or are taking place in respect of those who have lived all or most of their lives in the countries to which their families moved both in their perceptions of social and educational involvement, any practical effects this has on their relationships within their own cultural community and any modifications of their cultural beliefs and practices. If the issue of single women migrants/ethnic minorities is a particular issue within the cultural group under discussion elaborate any particular matters that arise in relation to this phenomenon. Also, if there are particular factors that arise for women migrants who return to their countries of origin this should be elaborated under this section.

b. Cultural values and customs that inhibit full social and educational involvement. This section should use examples to illustrate which if any cultural values and customs delay or stop equal opportunity for migrant/ethnic minority women. It may be for example that in some cultural communities the opportunity to mix socially outside of a small, clearly defined circle is discouraged or that there are religious or social constraints on mixing with men which might inhibit educational or work opportunities. The paper should try to identify particular issues that constrain involvement and discuss to what extent some of these are culturally fixed and which could be/ are capable of modification and adaptation.

c. The lives of migrant/ethnic minority women in their present social context. In this section a discussion of present social and educational provision should consider what types of special provision have been made or would be necessary to involve women from migrant/ethnic groups; what steps are or would be necessary to ensure access to such provision; and what approaches do or would involve greater involvement in the normal range of existing provision. The types of activities might include community provided classes, local/national authority classes in further education, adult education classes etc, concerned with language education or more broadly based in social and educational issues.

d. The role of statutory or voluntary agencies. Under this section there should be a description of what statutory and voluntary agencies do specifically to further the involvement of migrant/ethnic minority women in their educational and social development. It should consider the strengths and weaknesses of such provision and identify how the range and quality of such agencies might be modified or improved.

e. The paper should conclude with a short list of the major points made under the preceding headings.

APPENDIX II

WOMEN AND MIGRATION: TRENDS AND PRIORITIES

By Lotty van den BERG-ELDERING

I. INTRODUCTION

The Colloquy on "Women and Migration: Educational and Cultural Aspects" is one of the activities of CDCC's Project No. 7 "The education and cultural development of migrants".

This project concentrates on the following sub-themes:

- relations between the school and the family,
- relations between the school and culture,
- relations between adult education and child education (especially women and the second generation).

Since one of the commitments of Project Group No. 7 had been the preparation of "practical instruments" for the use of all those touched by intercultural education, most of its attention has so far been directed to mostly locally based experiments and projects, witness the emphasis in the case studies.

The Colloquy on "Women and Migration" should therefore likewise primarily attempt to identify practices which could lead to improve the participation of migrant women in social life and should be focussed on factors which hamper or encourage this participation.

However it is not an easy task to produce practical instruments or recommendations, with a general applicability.

Louis Porcher (1) has indicated, in his interim report of Project No. 7, a number of factors which have hindered the achievement of these goals in this project. These are:

- diversity in the situation of migrants. Diversity in nearly all respects (nationality, cultural backgrounds, official status, duration of stay etc);
- the dissatisfactory relationship between theory and practice "all in all, two important things can be noted: a demand for more practice and more theory, and an outspoken dissatisfaction at the relationship at present prevailing between theory and practice" (Porcher, p 8).

The state of affairs concerning migrant women might be even worse: the diversity in their situation may well prove to be the overriding factor as much as the unsatisfactory relationship between researchers and practitioners may impede proposals for practical instruments and measures to be put into practice, but the main obstacle will probably be lack of knowledge and insight into their situation.

So far, no systematic and continuous attention, on a national or international level, has been given to the situation of migrant women (1), neither in the field of research, nor by policymakers. This lack of attention can be explained by several reasons:

- in the sixties and seventies, migration from Mediterranean countries to the countries of Western Europe was mostly considered a temporary phenomenon, both by the migrants themselves and by the receiving countries. As a result no integration policy for immigrants was formulated. Most policy instruments that were developed concerned migrant workers rather than their family members;

- now, in the eighties most European governments have grown aware that this migration flow will result in permanent settlement. Not only has the foreign population in the countries of employment increased, but this growth has also been accompanied by a radical transformation of its components, due to the family reunion of the migrant workers and the higher birth rates of the migrant families. But now, although more than ever time is pressing to pay serious attention to migrant women, other issues are given priority, under the influence of the economic recession. In a recent enquiry on behalf of the second Conference of European Ministers responsible for migration affairs in October 1983, the problems mentioned most frequently by member states were: the training of second generation migrants, unemployment and clandestine migration (Lebon, p 27, see note 3). So attention has shifted from the first generation to the second generation migrant workers, and migrant women of the first generation tend to be forgotten.

This introductory paper has a twofold aim:

- firstly it will summarise recent trends in migration flows and policies in the European countries (paragraph II),

- secondly it will provide, against the background of these trends, areas of discussion concerning migrant women (paragraph III).

---

(1) Recommendation No. R (79) 10 of the Committee of Ministers to member states concerning women migrants is an exception to this rule (see annex).

II. CURRENT TRENDS IN MIGRATION AND POLICY

Migration of women is not an independent and isolated phenomenon. In most cases these women followed or accompanied their husbands, who had migrated for economical or political reasons. The lapse of time between the arrival of a migrant worker and the reunion with his family is related to factors such as admission policy of the receiving country, cultural differences between both societies, motives behind the family reunion (2).

So migration of women should be seen as part of a larger migration process that has been going on between less developed and industrialised countries, during the last decades. The situation of migrant women is therefore a dependent variable, related to the process of migration in which they take part, to the policy of immigration in the country of settlement and to the development of their country of origin.

Studying the situation of migrant women from this perspective, there is a danger that one is too easily inclined to conclude that diversity is the overriding factor in their situation.

Comparison of international data however, shows that some general trends in immigration patterns can be discerned and that in the receiving countries a certain convergence in migration policy is developing.

In the following paragraphs these trends in migration and policy will be briefly outlined (3). This summary may provide a basis for discussions and a background against which the situation of migrant women can be evaluated.

II.1 Trends in migration

Terminology

When we want to know more about the migration process, about the various groups, that participate in this process, their numbers and the effects of migration, then we are faced with a problem of terminology.

Three criteria can be distinguished, each of which emphasises a relevant aspect of migration (nationality, country of birth, minority status). In most countries, only material based on the nationality criterion is available (with the exception of Sweden, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands) (table 1). The advantage of using the nationality criterion is that the status of being a foreigner is of direct social relevance, since it refers usually to a weak legal position. The main drawback of using nationality as the only criterion is that the foreign population may not cover the total population with a minority status as a consequence of immigration such as immigrants from former colonies who have the nationality (or citizenship) of the country of settlement, but who may continue to have a minority status.

Since awareness is growing that the social consequences of immigration is likely to influence the status of the immigrants during several generations, the dividing line of nationality is tending to lose its relevance and more emphasis is being placed on the criterion of minority status, especially in countries which have developed a specific integration policy.

In this paper emphasis will be placed on the criterion of minority status, since it is extremely important to gain insight into the factors that result in minority group formation among migrant women of the first, second and perhaps third generation.

Table 1: Foreign citizens legally residing in some selected European countries, 1 January 1982 (1)

	Foreign residents	In per cent of total population	
Federal Republic of Germany	4,667,000	7.6	(30 September 1982)
United Kingdom	4,538,000 (2)	8.5	
France	4,524,000 (3)	8.4	
Switzerland	910,000	14.3	
Belgium	879,000	8.9	(Census 1981)
Netherlands	779,000 (4)	5.5	
Sweden	414,000	5.0	
Austria	219,000	3.9	
Denmark	102,000	2.0	
Luxembourg	96,000	26.3	
Norway	86,000	2.1	
Ireland	68,000	2.0	(1 January 1979)
Liechtenstein	9,000	36.7	(1 January 1981)
Total	17,373,000	7.5	

(1) This table does not include foreign immigrants who have taken up citizenship of the country in which they reside at present. Immigrants who are citizens of the country of immigration upon their arrival in that country have only been included if they constitute a substantial share of the total number of recent immigrants (see notes 2, 3 and 4).

(2) Persons belonging to a household of which the head was born outside the United Kingdom.

(3) Includes 300,000 French citizens originating from overseas departments and territories (estimate).

(4) Includes 240,000 Netherlands citizens originating from Surinam, the Netherlands Antilles and the Moluccas (estimate)

Source: various national statistics

Ethnic minority status

Ethnic minority status of immigrant populations is mainly characterised by three factors:

1. weak legal position,

2. low socio-economic position,

3. different ethnic origin.

These three elements do not necessarily coincide: most immigrants from former colonies have the same legal status as indigenous residents, but their low socio-economic position and the effects of their different ethnic origin may well persist for generations!

As will be seen in the next paragraph, it is exactly this process of minority group formation, that is giving great concern to the governments of the receiving countries at this time and has stimulated the development of a specific integration policy in some of these countries (f.i. Sweden, the Netherlands).

Migration patterns between 1976 and 1982

The following trends can be discerned:

- in this period, the total foreign population in the traditional immigration countries of Northern and Western Europe has grown, with the exception of Switzerland and Sweden,

- in the seventies a rather massive return occurred to Spain, Greece, Italy and Yugoslavia. This return flow can only partly be explained by the economic recession in the countries of employment,

- countries of the northern part of the Mediterranean Basin (Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece), which were until the seventies pre-eminently countries of emigration, have become countries of immigration. This is not only due to massive return of nationals, but also to significant increases in foreign population. In these countries the registration of immigration and immigrants however is far from complete.

Notwithstanding these general lines the following differential growth patterns can be discerned in the traditional immigration countries according to the country of origin of the immigrants and according to the sex and age structure of the immigrant population:

- the foreign population from the northern part of the Mediterranean Basin shows a tendency to decrease in all these countries;

- the foreign population from the countries South of the Mediterranean Sea and from Turkey increased in absolute numbers and as a percentage. Return rates to these countries have been lowest;

- the growth of the foreign population is further accompanied by a radical transformation in age structure and sex ratio. In all countries, except Switzerland, young people (age between 0 and 24) account for 40% to 50% of the total foreign population (see Lebon, 1983, table 3, p 6);
the family reunion of migrant workers has resulted in a more balanced sex ratio (see table 2).

Table 2: Sex ratios and marital sex ratios of the total foreign population in some European countries in the mid-1970s and early 1980s

Country	1970s			1980s		
	Date	Sex ratio	Marital sex ratio	Date	Sex ratio	Marital sex ratio
Austria	May 1971	65.1	58.7	May 1981	79.2	76.8
Belgium	March 1971	84.4	83.7	1-3-1981	83.3	82.0
Denmark	1-1-1976	83	89	1-1-1981	90	98
FRG	1-1-1977	77.6		30-9-1981	72.3	86.6
Luxembourg	15-10-1978	97.9	103.4	31-3-1981	99.3	
Netherlands	1-1-1976	61.1	51.1	1-1-1982	74.3	72
Norway	1-1-1977	89	96	1-1-1982	90	99
Sweden	1-1-1977	91.6	104	1-1-1982	95.8	109.9
Switzerland	1-1-1976	86.5		1-1-1982	83.1	69.2
France	Census 975	67.0		Census 1982	74.9	

* Sex ratio is expressed here as the number of females per 100 males in a population.

** Marital sex ratio is expressed here as the number of married/divorced/widowed females per 100 married/divorced/widowed males in a population.

Source: Penninx, 1984: table 9, p. 27.

II.2 Dilemmas in government policy

In his study "Government policy and immigrant minorities" Entzinger has made an analysis of how political authorities in seven European countries (1) have dealt with massive immigration and its social consequences. The major policy questions referring to immigration have been formulated as dilemmas: difficult choices between pairs of options. These choices have to be made in chronological order, one after the other.

The first dilemma concerns the question of whether or not a country sees itself as a country of immigration or not. In other words whether immigrants are seen as temporary sojourners or as permanent settlers. The second dilemma refers to whether to adopt an integration policy or not. As long as immigration is considered to be a temporary phenomenon, one sees no need to develop an integration policy. But as soon as governments grow aware that immigrants will stay for good, then a choice will become inevitable.

The crucial question is then, whether or not the government will develop a specific policy to promote the participation of immigrants in the public and social life of the country of settlement.

Once a government has opted for an integration policy, the third dilemma arises.

This dilemma relates to the premises and aims of that policy, and also to the closely associated question as to which policy instruments should be used to achieve the aims of this policy. This is the dilemma between an assimilationist or a pluralistic approach.

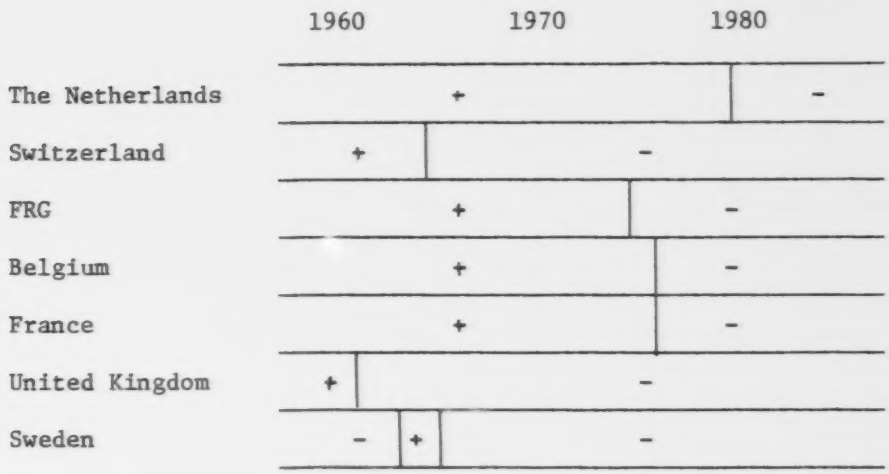
The first approach is based on the assumption that immigrants in the long run adapt to the predominant culture of the country of settlement. A government may also adopt the view that immigrants should be enabled to preserve their own culture and cultural identity as far as possible. The option for an assimilationist approach leads to a further choice: that whether assimilation can be best achieved by special temporary provisions and institutions or not.

Since the early 70s a certain convergence may be observed in Europe concerning national policies. Nearly all countries have opted now for a restrictive admission policy. These restrictions on immigration were partly caused by the economic recession, partly by feelings of xenophobia among the indigenous population and by inter-ethnic conflicts.

---

(1) These seven countries are: Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland.

Diagram 1: the admission policy in Western Europe since 1960



+ = liberal admission policy

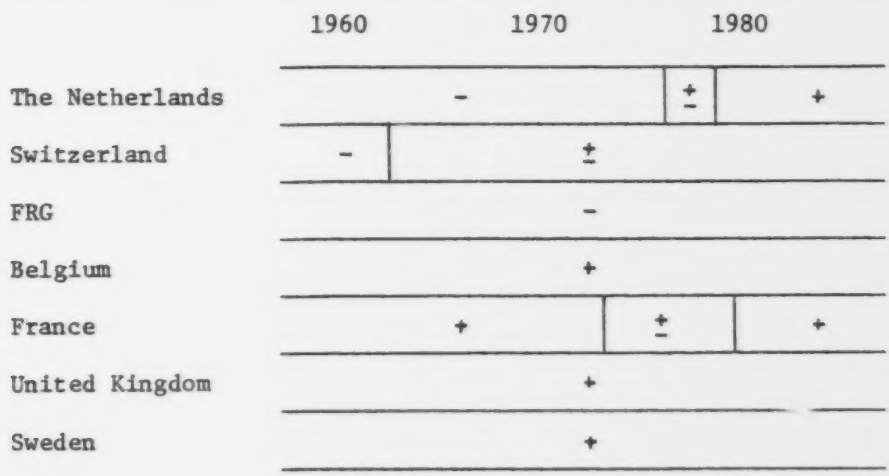
- = restrictive admission policy

Source: Entzinger 1984: diagram 9.1, p. 237

In all the European countries listed in diagram 1, with the exception of the Federal Republic of Germany, policy is now based on the assumption that most immigrants will settle permanently in the country (diagram 2).

The option for a restrictive admission policy and at the same time an integration policy has also been influenced by a growing awareness among the public authorities that the minority situation of many immigrants tends to persist.

Diagram 2: Policy of immigration in Western Europe since 1960



- = immigration is seen as a temporary phenomenon

+ = immigrants are supposed to settle permanently

± = policy is differentiated according to category

Source: Entzinger 1984: diagram 9.2, p. 238

The fact that nearly all the relevant European countries now assume that most immigrants will stay for good, does not mean that they have all developed a specific policy in order to promote the participation of immigrants in social life.

In some countries the immigrants are expected to integrate without any specific intervention of the government. In Switzerland and in Britain for instance no specific measures were taken; governments of these countries were, for different reasons, of the opinion that the existing regulations, provisions and institutions should equally apply and be accessible for the immigrants (indirect integration policy). Other countries, for instance the Netherlands and Sweden, have developed a more direct integration policy; in these countries the equality of all residents is not only the underlying assumption, but also the ultimate aim of their integration policy (see scheme 1). In the scheme Belgium and France hold an intermediary position; the integration policy in these countries is concentrated on the removal of legal impediments to participation, rather than on the furtherance of factual participation.

Scheme 1: Migrant policy in Western Europe

indirect policy		direct policy
Switzerland	Belgium	the Netherlands
Great Britain	France	Sweden
	(Fed. Rep. Germany)	

Source: Entzinger 1984, scheme 9.3, p. 253.

As to the third dilemma, option for an assimilationist or a pluralist migrant policy, Entzinger concludes in his study that initially all states, with the exception of the Netherlands, have chosen the assimilationist approach. Basic in this approach is the assumption that immigrants gradually adapt to the cultural environment of the country of settlement and that existing social institutions and provisions should also be (made) accessible to them. This means that no separate institutions especially for immigrants have to be established. At this moment there is a growing awareness in European countries that without special provisions and institutions the process of ethnic minority group formation will continue. So structural measures seem inevitable in order to achieve a better participation in social life.

Crucial points for discussion are:

- the relationship between low socio-economic status and the ethnic/cultural origins of migrants,

- the degree to which a policy should be based on an assimilationistic or a pluralistic approach, or is it rather a question of combining both approaches?

III. PRIORITIES CONCERNING MIGRANT WOMEN

The outline of recent developments in migration flows and policies provides a basis for formulating discussion points and priorities for further research, policy and action.

These discussion points and priorities concern:

1. the categories of migrant women which should receive most attention in the near future,

2. equal opportunity and participation: aims of an integration policy,

3. the need for cultural pluralism.

III.1 Categories of migrant women

Analysis of recent developments in migration flows has shown a differentiation of growth patterns according to the country of origin. This differentiation may be summed up as follows:

1.1 In the major immigration countries the foreign population from the countries south of the Mediterranean Sea and from Turkey increased absolutely and in percentage.

1.2 Countries north of the Mediterranean Sea, which were until the 70s pre-eminently countries of emigration (Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece), recently have become countries of immigration. This is partly caused by a massive return flow of nationals, partly by immigration from other countries.

1.3 Beside the labour migration flow from and to Mediterranean countries, there has been a sizeable immigration flow from former colonies in the 70s, especially to France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

Discussion area one

As a consequence of these recent trends, a conclusion might be that priority should be given in research, action and perhaps also in policy to:

- migrant women from North Africa and Turkey, living in the traditional immigration countries

  arguments to do this:

  - their growing percentage (in comparison with migrant women from the countries north of the Mediterranean Sea),

  - they have arrived more recently,

  - they are in a more disadvantaged position

- migrant women from the countries north of the Mediterranean Sea, who have returned to their home countries

  arguments to do this:

  - up till now nearly no attention has been paid to the process of re-integration of these women and girls

- migrant women from former colonies. Within this large category most attention should perhaps be paid to those women who are in the most disadvantaged position (compared to indigenous women).

III.2 More emphasis on prevention of ehtnic minority group formation

In the North-West European countries there is a growing awareness that most immigrants will stay for good and that, if no effective measures are being taken, these immigrant groups will continue to have a minority status, also during the second and perhaps the third generation.

Ethnic minority status, a key concept in the development of a minority policy, is related to legal, socio-economic and cultural/ethnic factors. Ethnic minority status can be defined as a low degree of participation in the institutions of the countries of settlement (the central institutions concern the labour market, housing market, educational system, political system). In nearly all these fields of public life immigrants occupy initially a marginal position.

This low degree of participation depends on the one hand on features of the receiving societies and on the other hand on features of the immigrant groups and their countries of origin (see scheme 2).

Immigrants from less developed countries nearly always play a marginal role in the receiving society and have a low degree of participation in its institutions. This is an inevitable consequence of their immigration. Crucial however is the question how long these groups will continue to occupy a minority status. This also depends on the interplay of both sets of variables (see scheme 2).

Within the context of this colloquy attention should be paid to the following variables:

- the aims of integration policy and the measures necessary to achieve these aims, for migrant women,

- the cultural and other factors, resulting from their different ethnic origin, which impede or promote participation of migrant women in the social life of their new social environment.

The discussion on the interplay of these variables should not take place in vacuo, but be centred around projects or experiments, which actually have been put into practice.

As to the needed policy, Recommendation No. R (79) 10 of the Committee of Ministers to member states concerning women migrants may function as guideline. The points of departure of this recommendation are:

- equality of opportunity and treatment between men and women workers and between national and migrant workers;

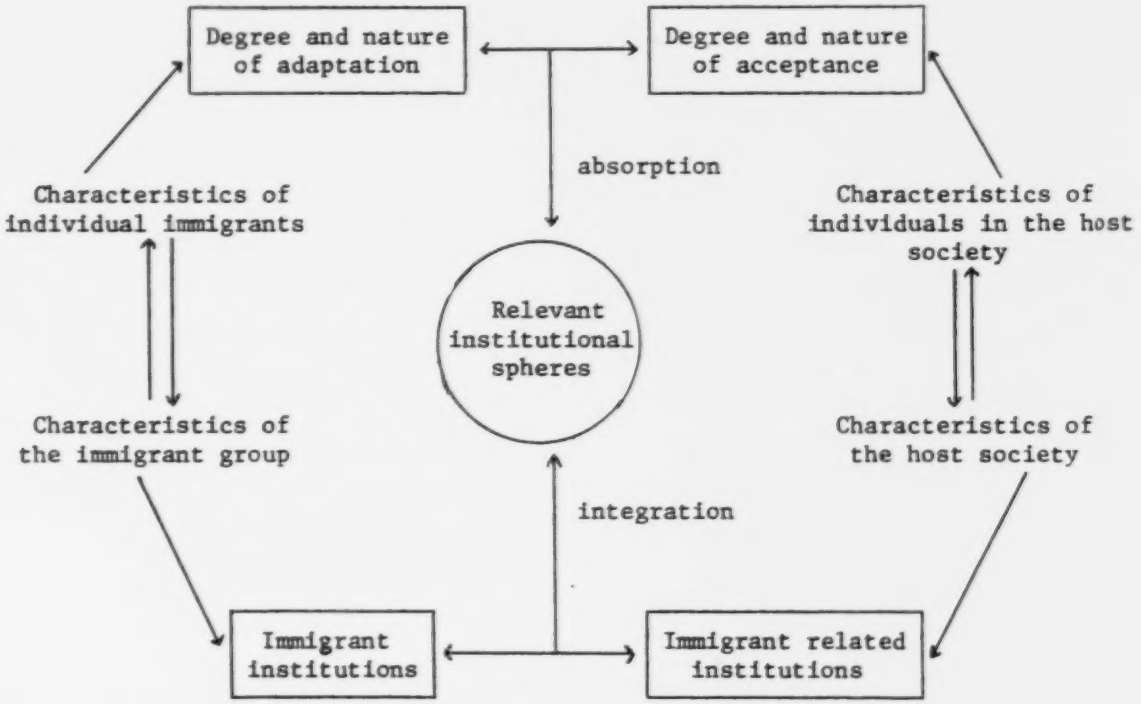
- a migrant policy providing for the implementation and development of preventive measures in the social, cultural and educational life of women migrants.

The key-words in this recommendation - effective equality of opportunity of national and immigrant workers, prevention of discrimination, promotion of the adjustment of women migrants to the social and professional environment of the receiving countries, promotion of cultural self-fulfilment - indicate

that the Committee of Ministers recommend the member states to develop an active policy with specific provisions to achieve equality of opportunity and full participation for migrant women.

Point 3 of this recommendation asks the governments of member states to report to the Secretary of the Council of Europe every five years on measures taken to give effect to this recommendation.

Scheme 2: the assimilation process



Source: Van Amersfoort 1982: fig. 1, p. 44.[4)]

Discussion area two

If equal opportunity and promotion of social participation are aims of an integration policy, then we need to know:

1. to what extent migrant women occupy a minority status, compared with migrant men and/or with indigenous women,

2. which cultural and other factors related to their different ethnic backgrounds impede or stimulate effective equal opportunity and social participation,

3. which policy measures have been taken (compared to those recommended in Recommendation No. R (79) 10) and which of them proved to be successful in promoting social participation?

These questions call for international comparisons on three levels:

- a comparison of statistical data concerning the minority status of migrant women in the relevant spheres of public life (labour market, housing market, educational facilities etc),

- a comparison of the results of research into the social participation of migrant women,

- a comparison of experiences gained through experiments and projects carried out in practice.

These comparisons could provide a deeper understanding of factors and mechanisms, that determine the dynamics of minority group formation among migrant women. Central elements in the discussion are: the differences in social participation between migrant women of the first and the second generation and the changeability of cultural values and norms.

III.3 A growing need for cultural pluralism?

In the foregoing section the position of migrant women has been evaluated from the perspective of the principle of equal opportunities in the receiving society: in other words the degree of participation of migrant women in its institutions and the factors that influence this participation.

But the position of migrant women can also be viewed from another perspective, that is that of the country of origin. Migrant women do not start a completely new life after migration, but they preserve a good deal of their religious and cultural heritage. This is the reason why some sociologists from the countries of origin consequently speak about emigrants and compare the situation of women after migration with that before migration.[5)] From this perspective changes in cultural values and behavioural patterns are evaluated differently. Whereas from the first mentioned perspective isolation is pointed out to be the main characteristic of the position of migrant women, since they do not participate in the social institutions of the receiving society, from the second perspective their position after migration is sometimes evaluated more positively, since they have more freedom outside their homes, than in the countries of origin and they have developed strong networks of women.

Important is how and from what perspective migrant women themselves perceive and evaluate their position after migration.

Changes in cultural patterns occur slowly, depending on the nature of these values and norms and on the circumstances in the receiving countries. In the European countries there is a growing awareness that cultural patterns are more persistent than had been assumed and that they may impede full participation of migrant women in the social institutions of the receiving society for a long time. A question that receives more attention at this moment is whether social institutions should be adapted to the cultural values and norms of the migrant women; that is, the degree of cultural pluralism that can be realised in practice.

Discussion area three

From the foregoing several interrelated questions arise. These are:

- to which extent are the needs and expectations of first and second generation migrant women and girls different? (this question should give more insight into the changeability of values and norms),

- can and should values and behaviour patterns, which impede participation to existing social institutions, be changed and by what means? (this includes identifying cultural values and patterns, which are not "negotiable", and fields of social life in which the principle of pluralism should have priority),

- to what extent are the principles of equal opportunity in the receiving society and the right to cultural pluralism mutually exclusive? (this question could be explored with the help of concrete examples).

Bibliographical notes

1. Porcher, Louis (1983): Interim Report prepared for Project Group No. 7 of the CDCC, "The education and cultural development of migrants". DECS/EGT (83) 68 prov.

2. Berg-Eldering, Lotty van den (1983): Moroccan and Turkish women and girls in the Netherlands. Is education interested in them? In: Lotty van den Berg-Eldering, Ferry J M de Rijcke and Louis V Zuck (eds.). Multi-cultural education, a challenge for teachers. Foris Publications, Dordrecht.

3. This summary is based on three recently published reports and books:

Entzinger, H B (1984): Government policy and immigrant minorities: dilemmas in the Netherlands and six other European countries (dissertation in Dutch), Boom, Meppel.

Lebon, André (1983): The situation of migrant workers and members of their families: achievements, problems and possible solutions. Report prepared for the Second Conference of European Ministers responsible for migration affairs, Rome 25-27 October 1983. Council of Europe, Strasbourg.

Penninx, Rinus (1984): Immigrant populations and demographic development in the member states of the Council of Europe. Part one: Analysis of general trends and probable future developments. Report prepared for the Committee of Experts on Immigrant Populations (DE-IM) Council of Europe, Strasbourg.

4. Amersfoort, H van (1982): Immigration and the formation of minority groups. Cambridge University Press.

5. See f.i. Chekroun, Moh (1983): La structure familiale et communautaire au Maroc et sa réinterprétation en situation migratoire. In: Bulletin economique et social du Maroc. No. 151-152, pp. 103-117

and Abadan-Unat (1978): The modernisation of Turkish women. Middle East Journal; 32, no. 3.

APPENDIX III

WOMEN OF SOUTH ASIAN ORIGIN IN BRITAIN: ISSUES OF EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

By Avtar BRAH

Patterns of migration and settlement

When we speak of South Asian women in Britain we are referring to a very heterogenous category of people. Asian women have come to Britain from different parts of the world, most notably from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. While those who have migrated from the Asian sub-continent are predominantly from the independent proprietor class of peasants, their counterparts from East Africa are overwhelmingly from urban, middle-income families. Asian women are further differentiated according to religion, linguistic group, caste and sect. There are three main religions - Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism - and five major languages - Punjabi, Gujerati, Bengali, Urdu and Hindi - represented among Asians in Britain. Each religious and linguistic group is in turn differentiated along various castes and sects. The cultures of these groups and the sex/gender systems of which they are a part are correspondingly different.

As is now well known the post-war Asian migration to Britain was part of the wider labour flow from the European peripheri and the third world to advanced industrial western Europe. Asian workers were recruited to Britain in response to the chronic labour shortages that accompanied the post-war economic expansion. The economic boom made it comparatively easy for white workers to secure better paid jobs or obtain places on skill apprenticeships and training schemes. This led to the most pronounced labour shortages occurring in those sectors of the economy where working conditions were poor and the work was low-paid. It was mainly for this work that immigrant labour was recruited. Thus Asian workers in Britain came to be disproportionately represented in textiles, clothing and footwear, metal manufacture, engineering and allied industries, vehicle manufacture, transport and communication and the distributive trades. Within these mainly manual occupations Asian workers tend to be concentrated in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs.

Successive surveys have confirmed the persistence of broadly the same patterns of employment today as obtained in the earlier decades after the war (1971 Census of Population; Smith 1977; Brown 1984). The class position of Asians in Britain is a key determinant of their life-chances.

As might be expected the early migrants came to settle in areas where work could be found. In the main these were the prosperous conurbations where demand for labour was high. The highest concentrations of South Asians are to be found in London and the South East, West Midlands, Yorkshire, Humberside, and in the North West region. The regional distribution of different South Asian groups varies, however. Asian populations of Indian origin are concentrated overwhelmingly in Greater London, the South East and in West Midlands but the Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups are comparatively more dispersed. Whilst the highest concentrations of Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups too are located in London, the South East and the West Midlands region, substantially large settlements of these groups are also found in Yorkshire.

Apart from the case of Asians from Uganda who arrived together as families after being evicted by the then President Amin, Asian women generally migrated later than the men. Various factors have influenced the timing of female immigration, eg the variation in the timing of the principal period of migration men from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and the series of legal and administrative measures introduced by successive governments to reduce black immigration. On the whole migration of women from India has preceded that of women from Pakistan and Bangladesh. Indeed, the relatively high ratio of men to women among these latter groups suggests that a substantial proportion of Bangladeshi and Pakistani families are still waiting to be reunited.

Because of the variation in timing of migration some of the issues and concerns facing different categories of Asian women are correspondingly different, even though their structural position as black women will expose them to many common experiences. For example, many Sikh women from India have been resident in Britain for over two decades whereas a significant proportion of Bangladeshi women are newcomers to the country. A high proportion of the Sikh women are engaged in waged work. They have been involved in a number of industrial struggles. In the current recession many have lost their jobs or are faced with the prospect of losing their jobs. A key area of concern for these women is the issue of unemployment. Many of the recently arrived Bangladeshi women on the other hand are facing exclusion from the labour market even before they have had the opportunity to seek paid employment. Similarly, the housing problems of long established Sikh families living in owner-occupied properties are qualitatively different from those of Bangladeshi families in East London who have been housed in poor quality council flats on estates where racial violence is a common feature of daily existence. Bangladeshi women on these estates lead a life of acute isolation and fear from racial attacks. Social policy and practice therefore must take into account the local circumstances of different groups of Asian women on the one hand, and the broader social context on the other.

Asian women - the stereotype

Before going on to look at the more specific educational and employment issues pertaining to Asian women it is important to note that much of the academic, political and popular discourse on Asian women in Britain has tended to be couched in negative stereotypes. Asian women have been portrayed as «docile», «passive», and «ruthlessly oppressed by their men». Comparatively little attention has been paid to the active role played by Asian women in a variety of activity aimed at challenging the social processes (eg the introduction of racially discriminatory immigration legislation) responsible for the particular forms of inequality to which Asian women and other black groups are subject.

There are currently many Asian women's groups in Britain which seek to develop support networks for one another, organise social and cultural activities, provide information and advice (eg on welfare benefits) and offer space to women to organise and campaign on issues they see relevant. These self-help groups speak to the shared experience of Asian women and address issues of common concern in an atmosphere of trust and self-respect. In marked contrast to the stereotype Asian women are active agents in the making of their social history, although, as Morokvasic (1983) points out in relation to Yugoslav migrant women, their responses may not always take the form familiar to a Western observer or be centred around issues defined as relevant from a Western frame of reference.

The ideological construction of Asian women bears little resemblance to the complex social reality of their lives - a reality constituted around a complex articulation of the economic, political and ideological structures that underpin the inter-relationship between race, class and gender. There are a variety of factors which act to subordinate Asian women inside and outside waged work and in educational institutions.

Employment/unemployment

Asian women are a small but significant part of the British workforce. A recent survey (Brown, op. cit.) found economic activity among Hindu and Sikh women to be higher than amongst white women in the sample. In the case of the Muslim sample, however, less than a fifth of those eligible for work were in employment. A reason most commonly put forward for this is that Muslim families do not permit female members to work outside the house. Such exclusively «culturalist explanations» are, however, very inadequate for they do not take into account factors such as the later migration of Muslim women from Pakistan and Bangladesh compared with Hindu and Sikh women from India, the differences in economic activity levels of Muslim women from Africa as compared with Muslim women from the sub-continent, the socio-economic position of the women prior to migration and the structure of the local markets in the areas of Muslim settlements in Britain. When all such factors are taken into account the influence of religion and culture does not acquire the over-arching determinancy which is often ascribed to it. In any case there is little evidence to suggest that Muslim girls or young women are less keen than their Sikh or Hindu sisters to obtain work.

In the sphere of employment Asian women are more commonly found in the manufacturing sector than white women, particularly in the clothing and textile industries. In this sector they are concentrated in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations. A substantial proportion of Asian women are employed also in the service sector, although their share of these occupations is much lower than that of white women.

Unemployment rates among Asian women are very high. Brown (op. cit) found, for instance, that the unemployment rate for Asian women was twice as high as that of white women. Among the reasons put forward for this by social commentators is the effect of racial discrimination. There is a considerable body of research evidence collected over the last 16 years which shows widespread discrimination against Asians and other black groups in terms of access to employment, promotion, training etc.

Other studies have shown that the employment prospects of young Asian girls do not appear to be much better than those of their mothers, and are certainly poorer than those of their white peers (cf. Brook and Singh, 1978; Cambell and Jones, 1981).

A number of local surveys have shown that young Asians and Afro-Caribbeans seeking employment are likely to face considerable difficulty and discrimination. A study of employers (Lee and Wrench, 1983) discovered that employers tend to hold stereotyped notions of the abilities and aptitudes of Asian and Afro-Caribbean young people seeking work.

In the field of employment, therefore, we need to examine the ways in which employment policies and practices may work against the interest of Asian women, and how their job prospects might be improved in the face of contracting opportunities due to the economic recession. It must be stressed that women's wage is often a very necessary part of the family income.

Language and qualifications

In Britain Asian women's supposed lack of fluency in English has been a key element in the ideological construction of the social imagery about them. For this reason we need to be careful about how the issue of language and qualifications is approached. Often, lack of English is presented as the main factor inhibiting Asian women's participation in economic, educational and social activities. But we know from literature on the subject that injection of migrant labour at the lower rungs of the occupational structure did not happen simply because of the educational levels of immigrant workers. In the early stages of the migration period many Asians with university level qualifications were engaged in semi-skilled and unskilled work. More worryingly, recent research shows that even when Asian and Afro-Caribbean unemployed school leavers are better qualified than their white counterparts they are less successful in their search for work (Troyna and Smith 1983). In other words young Asian women brought up in Britain and speaking English fluently are still faced with narrower opportunity structures than young white women.

However, this is not to argue against Asian women learning English. As might be expected levels of fluency in English vary between different categories of Asian women and between different age groups. As regards educational qualifications, the recent PSI study (Brown, op. cit.) reports that within the Asian community there are substantial numbers of women with relatively low qualifications and substantial numbers of women who are very well educated.

Most Asian women with a limited facility in English are aware of the need to acquire English and a great many make an effort to attend English classes organised by their own communities or the local authorities. Some local authorities operate home-tuition schemes whereby women unable to attend classes are taught at home. There are also the industrial language schemes which seek to aid the development of work-related English language skills. The formation of a National Association of Teachers of English as a Second Language provides a platform for language issues to be discussed and debated. These are useful and important developments but it must be noted that the quality and nature of provision is very uneven across authorities.

My own discussions with ESL teachers suggest that whilst it is not universally the case, a substantial amount of ESL work is still informed by what one of the teachers described as a «missionary approach» - one in which the student is someone to whom «good works are done». A variation on this theme is the «deficit model» under which linguistic and social skills are imparted to the «disadvantaged» as if the deficiency was inherent in the individual (Brah and McCrom 1982). It is important for adult educators to be critical of such modes of conceptualising the students. Equally, it is quite appropriate that the field should ground its pedagogic practice in an understanding of the overall social and political context to the immigration and settlement of Asians and other groups who are the recipients of ESL provision.

In addition there is also an urgent need for mainstream adult education provision to cater for the interests, leisure activities and social and educational needs of Asian communities.

Schooling and Asian girls

The consequences of sexism in schooling are now well-known. Attention has been drawn to the under-representation of girls in science subjects, the invisibility of women in key content areas of the curriculum, the tendency on the part of teachers to pay more attention to boys, the role of education in contributing to a gender-divided occupational structure, and the pressure on girls to see their lives primarily in terms of marriage and family (cf. Deem, 1980; Spender, 1982). In the case of Asian girls these effects are further compounded by racism. Racism in schools operates in a variety of complex ways. It may be direct or indirect, conscious or subconscious. It can operate through implicit stereotyped assumptions made by teachers or other educationalists about Asian girls and boys, or it may be institutionalised in the routine structures and practices of the school, as for example when the school curriculum neglects, negates or misrepresents the history and cultures of Asian and other black groups.

There is a tendency among teachers to see most problems encountered by Asian girls as being the result of «inter-generational conflict». Yet there is no evidence to support the implied assertion that conflict levels are higher amongst Asian families than among white families. Asian parents tend to be portrayed as «authoritarian», «conservative» and supposedly «opposed to the liberating influence of schools». But there is as much variation among Asian parents on issues concerning the education of their children as can be expected in any other group of parents. There are many problems with «culturalist explanations» not least that they can have the effect of blaming the victim as well as providing legitimacy to the ideology which claims superiority of western cultural traditions over non-western values.

As we noted earlier, girls in general tend to receive less attention from teachers than boys. In the case of Asian girls, the prevailing stereotype of Asian girls as «passive» can lead some teachers to pay an even lesser degree of attention to this category of girls. There are other ways in which cultural stereotyping can work against the interest of Asian girls. For instance, teachers who may assume Asian parents to be opposed to their daughers going into further or higher education may discourage these girls from studying subjects at «O» and «A» levels, and from pursuing academic careers. Yet many Asian parents are very keen for their daughters to gain higher level qualifications. There is evidence that Asian girls who may require additional support in English can find themselves presented with a restricted curriculum as if they were remedial learners. Asian girls in schools can also experience ridicule from white pupils if their wear Asian style of dress (cf. Brah, 1982; Brah and Minhas, forthcoming; Pamar and Mirza, 1983). There is, therefore, an urgent need for a critical assessment of the specific ways in which Asian girls are disadvantaged within the education system.

Of course, educational disadvantage also occurs if, as noted earlier, formal and hidden curriculum of the school is euro-centric; if the cultures and identities of Asian children are devalued; if there are no Asian teachers in the schools and no Asian people in the power hierarchy of the education system; if the ideology «black people are problems for white society» is not challenged, and generally if no connection is made between educational process and the broader social context to the arrival and settlement of Asian and other black groups in post-war Britain.

Conclusion

Asian women in Britain originate from a variety of sex/gender systems of the Asian sub-continent. It is not helpful therefore to make sweeping generalisations about their experience in relation to their communities. Nor can their experience in Britain be understood simply with reference to these socio-cultural systems because their structural position as black women is a key determinant of their life-chances. We need to address questions of structured inequality in relation to this particular category of women in British society. It is important to shift away from «culturalist explanations» so as to be able to reclaim culture as a dynamic expression of human creativity in relation to the material conditions of society. Policy needs to be sensitive to issues at a variety of levels.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BRAH, A K (1982) Culture and Identity: The Case of South Asians, in Minority Experience, Units 8-9, Open University Course E354.

BRAH, A K and McCRON, R (1982) Speak for Yourself: An evaluation of reactions to a television programme, University of Leicester, Centre for Mass Communications Research.

BRAH, A K and MINHA, R (forthcoming) Cultural conflicts or structural inequalities: Asian girls in British schools in Weiner, G (ed.) Just a Bunch of Girls, Open University Press.

BROOKS, D and SINGH, K (1978) Aspirations vs Opportunities: Asian and white school leavers in the Midlands. Walsall Council for Community Relations.

BROWN, C (1984) Black and White Britain, Policy Studies Institute, London.

CAMBELL, M and JONES, D (1981) Asian Youth in the Labour Market. Bradford College, Bradford.

Census of Population (1971).

DEEM, R (ed.) (1980) Schooling for Women's Work, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

MOROKVASIC, M (1983) Women in migration: beyond the reductionist outlook in Phizacklea, A (ed.) One Way Ticket: Migration and female labour, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

PARMAR, P and MIRZA, N (1983) Stepping Forward : Work with Asian young women in Gen, Issue 1, Autumn.

SMITH, D J (1977) Racial Disadvantage in Britain, PEP, London.

SPENDER, D (1982) Invisible Women: The Schooling Scandal, Women's Press, London.

TROYNA, B and SMITH, D I (1983) Racism, School and the Labour Market, National Youth Bureau.

A P P E N D I X I V

A PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

by Zoulika BOUKORTT

The absolute precision of analyses always leaves me a little cold - as though, after all the questions, another question remains: is it only measures that need to be taken?

Racism and rejections always seem to be one step ahead of my hopes. It is a urgent matter, at a time of increasing xenophobia, summary explanations, hasty generalisations which seem to weigh more than good intentions, to question oneself about improving conditions of women's participation - and that of migrants in general - on the social and cultural life of their host country. And even though my observations come only partly from my personal experience (which are in fact only pretexts), I would like to reply in my own way.

Goodwill is not enough, and yet all my life has depended upon the goodwill I've met with and the accident of being born abroad.

Confusion, shame, indignity, one has to learn the differences, unsuspected upon arrival with an uncertain idea of France, so much so that one hopes for the best, the escape route to what seemed to be a well mapped-out future. The first impression I had was that of a little girl with a straight fringe, carrying a satchel and clinging to her father's hand. Learning to read and write, to simply love your father!

In my rocky village, little girls looked after the sheep. I would wait for my cousin outside the Koranic school, whose access was forbidden to me. My mother knew the Koran by heart, but she could neither read nor understand this noble Arabic, exclusive domain of her father and then of mine. Superstition was her moral, forcing her to live in terror (and me with her) peopled with dishonoured women and men only too ready to take advantage of any and every occasion. Women who were "repudiable", beaten, sold; young girls anxiously awaiting their menstruations, sign of a shutting door, living among themselves and knowing, in the world of men, only their brothers and fathers, preserving their virginity for a future which will not be any better. The empire of the "inside".

France was an open book, a mound of stories and possibilities. With the first words I understood came my first secrets, my first freedom, an immense joy, the first dream where women could become bankers, shopkeepers, cleaners or fashionable ladies ... Here men were no longer to be seen as threats but hope, even desire. Because meeting them would be a meeting in itself. All the love stories read secretly proved that.

How can I explain the seduction of a world where the disorders of love and the declaration of human rights reigned supreme.

Was the shame already in me which made me debaptise my brothers by giving them an artificially French name, walk ten paces in front of my mother so as not to be connected with her, reply to her in French when she spoke in her language and show surprise when my teacher refused to call me Monique?

I owe so much to this teacher and to others who taught me to sew, care for my tight curly hair, avoid fights; this teacher who secretly put me down for the lycée (1) but forgot to explain how one lives in French families, how to behave at table, how to clean one's teeth, to polish one's shoes and who could do nothing to avoid my brother's going to the CET (centres for technical studies) when we moved to a village where we were no longer the only Arab family, but a "North African community". The teachers there believed full well that migrants' children were no good for anything except these centres for technical studies, even though they were at the top of their classes ...

The lycée would protect me. How many girls of my age were married against their will, or sent back to Algeria to stay with an aunt because their papers had been stolen by their mothers or even their older sister? How can I describe the humiliation of a gynaecological examination to obtain a "virginity certificate" for the family to exhibit at weddings or funerals? How many girls broke off all ties with their families to avoid that, or who are now prostitutes? But I could also talk about the solitude of fathers who understand nothing of all this, of the unhappiness of a "traditional" mother who starts to realise that her own life has been a waste, considered to be a "red fatma" for having dared to say she's not called Fatma and would like, at last, at 50, to learn to read ...

Twenty years later, my little sisters are well and truly French, and my brothers sing in English. That they have exotic names or eyes does not change much. My mother has learned to drive, and my uncle who had forbidden his house to his daughters now accepts to see his French sons-in-law at Christmas.

The town council has done so much to allow the communities to meet. My 12-year-old sister is learning Arabic and is teaching me the basic alphabet. But it's a privilege to live in a small town. I'm still afraid of officials behind desks, of having to find work or a place to live, the uncomfortable feeling of those parts of town where migrants walk is intolerable for me, this rise of racism, whilst so many of us are learning the dignity of existence needs no comment.

But what remains of this culture, which some people would prefer me not to lose?

A painful balance between couscous and steak-and-chips, a silencing of my "inner self" which I could not pass on to my daughter (I speak child's Arabic, I know nothing about my country) a cry to the "exterior" which still asks my why I'm tanned.

(1) Secondary school

APPENDIX V

MEDITERRANEAN WOMEN IN BELGIUM

by Silvana PAVONE

POSITION OF WOMEN

Women are usually presented as a uniform group, and their sex is used almost as an argument on the part of nature lending weight to the argument of authority (a statement of position against which no appeal can be made).

«Modern» racism also supposes that a group is by nature uniform. Mention of the term «immigrant woman» produces an image, often reducing the woman to a social image inherited from an economic and political dynamism which belongs to a specific time in history and which would appear to preclude the possibility of any personal dynamism and evolution. This social image in its turn determines a type of social relationship which sometimes reaches the proportions of disguised paternalism.

Position of the Mediterranean woman - comparisons

Most of them have come to Belgium to accompany or join their husbands. Very few of them actually chose to emigrate, and the same is true of the children who come with them. Their only real choice was probably to not live as «white widows», of which there are any number in Sicily.

Given the socio-economic and political conditions in their country of origin, the decision taken by their husbands and fathers was probably not deliberate on their part either; their decision was dictated by necessity.

Sicilian, Spanish, Greek, North African and Turkish women have all moved from a social system based primarily on custom and tradition to a social system which declares itself based on equality between men and women.

In their country of origin they are obliged to accept the role of housewife and childbearer, the reasons for which, rightly or wrongly, are laid at the door of their culture and religion, although the economic situation of their countries has always promoted the value of these roles in order to justify them.

Family pressures

One of the main effects of immigration is the change in family roles:

- there is less support for paternal authority, which often becomes more rigid or is abandoned;

- the child takes on an intermediary status according to its level of understanding of the new language and becomes a real authority in the face of inherited authority (that of the father).

Many girls have been able to take advantage of this situation, thereby affirming their position by a situation born out of necessity. Compulsory schooling offers a considerable amount of freedom for girls.

- the mother's work outside the home will contribute to her double tiredness, since she continues to act as housewife. The effects on her physical and mental health take the form of a variety of symptoms, particularly affecting her joints and back.

Needs and aspirations of Mediterranean girls - values

Most young people think that Belgian families give their children more freedom, while Greek and Sicilian families in particular are perceived as authoritarian and protective, particularly as regards their daughters.

These girls complain of the unequal manner in which their parents treat their children depending on their sex.

Apart from disagreement about ethical standards (virginity, obedience), the accumulation of day-to-day details (making their brothers' beds, ironing their shirts, cleaning their shoes, washing up while their brothers watch television) is the most frequent reason for claiming independence.

They will tend to be more «modern» than their brothers and many Belgian girls in their view of women's place in society.

CONCLUSIONS

Immigration in Belgium displays different features according to the region and nationality involved. In Brussels, one resident in five is a foreigner, in Wallonia one in eight, and in Flanders one in 25.

The increase in numbers of Moroccans and Turks, particularly in Brussels, and the increase in numbers of young people among them, is a source of conflict and problems which aggravate those raised initially by their arrival.

Immigrants are usually young, and the social, economic and political effects of the economic crisis have highlighted the fact that they are no longer a temporary source of labour, but indeed an element in the future of Belgian society which, contrary to all the evidence, is ethnically, culturally and demographically uniform.

Immigration is more than a social phenomenon to be observed, studied, compared and used as a basis for forecasts. It is a real social situation, a population made up of men, women and children of different nationalities and from many cultures, developing both individually and as a group.

The permanent nature of immigration has become evident, and we are experiencing a stabilisation, despite the waves of returns provoked by the economic crisis, improvements in the political situation in countries of origin and the tension caused by a climate of growing racism.

The Moroccan and Turkish groups are particularly hard-hit by the rejection resulting from co-habitation which is difficult but unavoidable. The disproportionate attention paid to them, whether in their favour or not, pushes the position of other nationalities of immigrants into second place.

The living conditions of Mediterranean women and their daughters, usually thought of as being more capable of integration and participation than, for example, North African women, show how much their assumed social participation is exaggerated and to what extent their real situation as women is not to be envied.

Although religion does not create similar obstacles for Sicilian, Greek and Spanish women, the family and what it stands for are elevated to the status of a religion, with restrictions which, although different, are just as strong.

The change in family roles, as a result of their immigration, affects the status of women, their own development and that of their daughters.

Their participation in paid employment, although unemployment affects them more severely than it affects foreign men workers, demystifies them in the eyes of a large number of people, who rapidly label them housewives, by which they mean women in the traditional mould. Much more than the efforts of a number of associations, including the most actively feminist groups, it is work outside the home which has contributed most to their new assertion in both society and their families, and even within their national community.

This change takes different forms, varying from one nationality to another. Its outward manifestations are scarcely visible among North African women and, wrongly, appear more obvious among Italian, Spanish and Greek women, mainly because of their more Western, modern clothing.

This transformation does not take place without difficulties arising between the women and their menfolk. The protectionism exercised by men was previously assured by extended relations in the village by means of real or perceived aggression; genuine and gradual information would nevertheless make it possible for women to take part in outside activities (telling a man that he is keeping his wife a prisoner has never opened the door to the outside for her).

This transformation is not without difficulties between the generations. Despite positions of principle which make Mediterranean women want a more favourable social status for their daughters, methods for putting this into practice are subject to contradictions resulting in a reversion to attitudes which appear traditionalist at first sight and alarm many social workers and organisations but which are in fact the tangible signs of a painful transition.

It is difficult to respond to this experience with rational activities while what is being experienced is surrounded by permanent feelings of guilt and the irrational has the upper hand.

One could blame immigration for many things in both the countries of origin and the host countries. The fact remains that, overall, immigration is experienced by women as a beneficial factor in women's emancipation.

This emancipation and acquired independence are likely to be called into question, particularly in the event of widowhood. So far, no studies have been undertaken in either Belgium or France on this aspect of immigration.

How does the immigrant woman experience the isolation aggravated not only by the husband's death but also by the scattering of families and distance from her original relations? How does she live in Belgium or on returning to her country of origin?

The presence of increasing numbers of young people sometimes obscures the fact that even immigrants grow old and die, and that at the present time the existing structures probably do not respond to the cultural meanings prevalent in foreign communities.

This situation indicates that today we are in fact faced with a society whose members - because they have not been made properly welcome by suitable structures, because they have been accepted not as men and women but as machines - have tried to patch up their lives, lifestyles and organisation in such a way as to survive in the face of institutions which are rigid and exclude them.

The question facing us as regards the rising generations arises out of this situation: they do not want merely to survive - they want to live.

The social image projected of them, both in the family and at school and through speeches on their situation, puts them in conflict with both their parents and society. This society which, they feel, can no longer be called a «host» society since most of them were born in it, these young men and women, boys and girls whom we label temporary guests, indelibly marked «immigrant» as if it were a hereditary disease, passed on from one generation to the next.

In this respect, action to encourage the active participation of foreign women in society should be directed at the greatest number of women, without prior specification of target group.

The specific nature of a type of action can only be justified by an individual or categorical approach; otherwise there is a possibility of its becoming a gap in which the projects become in themselves more important than the people they have been thought out and set up for.

A methodology of intercultural activity would no doubt bring out better the creative abilities of women and would lend weight to the «clandestine» efforts they carry out every day.

Our industrial society normally connects women with children. In Mediterranean societies, while the same connection exists, the link between women and old people still exists as well. There are similarities between a Mediterranean woman and an elderly Belgian (lack of roots, change in environment, loneliness).

In so far as she is prepared and suited to making contact with the elderly, her participation would be better if it took the form of projects which take into consideration not only her own situation but also that of the human and social environment of the area in which she lives.

In this sense, their presence could be a positive factor in the construction of an «organised» cohabitation, which would also foster the calmness they need to embark on activities other than those which merely meet the needs of survival.

APPENDIX VI

WOMEN MIGRANTS FROM SURINAM IN THE NETHERLANDS

by Gloria WEKKER

Historic review

The migration of the people of Surinam to the Netherlands is intimately tied to the past. Surinam has been dominated by the Netherlands for over three centuries - a period of colonialism and slavery which has left its mark on the life and cultures of the people living there. From the seventeenth century on, peoples from Africa were uprooted and moved to work as forced labour on the plantations in Surinam. Preceding and following the abolition of slavery (1863) workers from China, India and Java (Dutch East Indies) were brought into the country as contract labourers. The dependency of Surinam on the Netherlands, the other Common Market countries and the US did not cease after the country became independent (1975). Migration to the Netherlands began after the Second World War. The number of migrants was limited and consisted mainly of Creoles from the higher-status classes who came to the Netherlands for study and training. As in the case of the larger group of "white collar" migrants from the Hindustani and Creole middle classes who followed in the sixties, they were readily accommodated by the Dutch on account of their willingness to conform. The years preceding and following independence showed an influx of mass migration. Political insecurity, low standards of living in Surinam and positive news from friends and relatives already in Holland, motivated large groups of people from different ethnic backgrounds and all levels of society to leave for the Netherlands. They were less prepared than the higher status classes for the Dutch situation. There were not many women among the first groups of migrants. It is only after 1966 when also the lower-status classes began to participate in immigration that their number rises considerably. From the seventies on a great many single and unmarried mothers have moved to Holland with their children, hoping to secure a more stable base of existence and to offer their children a better future. Visa regulations set up since 1980 have made it increasingly difficult to enter into the Netherlands other than for people whose family have already immigrated.

Characteristic features

At present there are some 180,000 people from Surinam living in the Netherlands. This amounts to one third of the total population of Surinam. A little over half of them are female. The overall age structure is younger than that of the total Dutch population. One half of this group has settled in the big cities of Rotterdam, the Hague and Amsterdam; the other half is dispersed over the Netherlands. This group of migrants is very heterogeneous. The diverse ethnic groups of Javanese, Chinese, American Indians (the original inhabitants of the country), Hindustani, Maroons (Africans who stood up to the slave masters and escaped to the inlands to form their own societies), and Creoles, each have cultural features which differ markedly from those of the indigenous Dutch population. Because of the diversity in customs and practices between the various groups of the population, this paper will deal in only very general terms with the women of Surinam.

As far as education is concerned the group has an advantage over other migrants in the Netherlands. The rate of illiteracy is markedly lower. However, the majority of adults have at best not gone beyond elementary

school level. As for the school-going youngsters, they are relatively overrepresented in schools for elementary general instruction (girls) and elementary professional training (boys). From secondary level up, participation is below the Dutch average.

Educational situation

Dutch society upholds the ideal of equality which entitles migrants to the same position as Dutch natives. Yet women from Surinam are clearly at a disadvantage. Their plight for emancipation has two aspects. As is the case for native Dutch women, their sex is used in most fields as a criterium to withhold access to and qualification for the same positions and opportunities as men. Moreover, they belong to a stigmatised ethnic group. Their deprivation stands out in the sphere of education and employment. A great many women and children from Surinam have a language problem, in spite of the fact that Dutch as the national language of Surinam is the vehicle of instruction in school. For a great many people, however, Dutch is not the natural or regular means of communication within their own communities. Moreover, the educational process is formalised according to the Dutch standard of values and norms, representing realities both of personality and society that are alien to the kinds of experience their culture provides and shapes for them. In addition, stereotyped images about sex and race differences and connected judgments eg about intelligence and future prospects, guide a Dutch teacher's perception, treatment and professional evaluation of the performance or behaviour of students from Surinam backgrounds. Teachers may not always be aware of how deeply the biases run and of the many, often subtle ways in which people are bound by these stereotyped beliefs.

Thus, teachers' expectations will underestimate the abilities and chances of success of students from Surinam and they will fall short in giving these students due support, guidance, encouragement and stimulation. In so doing, they negatively reinforce the students' achievement behaviour in school. The effect may be that the students fail to live up to their intellectual potential, neglect assignments and classroom performance, fail tests, repeat grades, or switch to a training far below their actual capacities. And the circle is closed. Once more the prejudice has confirmed itself: "How typical! Those people from Surinam are dumb and lazy, unable to cope with intellectual activity..." The curricular material upholds these prejudices, as do admittance tests to specific institutions of learning and training, which have been formulated according to Dutch middle-class standards. An often-heard complaint on the part of schools is that the parents of Surinam pupils show but little interest in how their children perform in class. At this point, the school's expectations run counter to those of the parents: the teacher assumes the parent to be involved whereas in Surinam such involvement is not expected, at times not even appreciated. Then, too, the school overlooks the timidity of parents who have received little or no education themselves, and are unfamiliar with the Dutch language, attitudes and expectations. Another potential source of conflict that is due to differences in attitudes and expectations is the value Dutch educators place upon shaping the child's individuality. A student will thus receive support for independent critical intellectual activity and achievement behaviour; they learn to think and speak for themselves, whereas Surinam parents demand obedience and docility; they expect a child to show respect for his elders and not contradict them. A source of annoyance

for many a Surinam parent is the Dutch social security system which entitles 16-year olds who leave school to welfare. A great many youngsters are thus demotivated to continue their studies: "Why should you, if your chances of ever finding a job are small indeed..." Incomprehensible to parents who place such value upon the possession of a training certificate. As the saying goes among mothers in Surinam "A diploma is your real husband".

Some adult women are trying to take advantage of the educational opportunities in Holland, such as adult education opportunities that they would not have had in Surinam. But they too, unfortunately, meet with the problems already mentioned.

Apart from general problems there are those peculiar to single mothers. Materially, they live at a subsistence level, having to make do with welfare. As they have always been used to combine motherhood with wage labour they are more than willing to work but their prospects are very small on account of their poor training. The unemployment rate is highest among this group of women. (In Amsterdam, two out of three chronically unemployed Surinam women are single mothers). Welfare regulations do not allow them an extra income. They feel isolated and pushed out. They are open to educational provisions but there are few training courses geared to their specific needs and expectations. Those who have pre-school children are moreover confronted with the generally felt lack of day-care centres; these women are even more strongly affected.

Generational conflict

Children from Surinam move in two cultural environments, one at school and one at home. Both have their advantages and disadvantages. The Dutch environment holds the promise of more freedom and equality but racism and discrimination are on the rise. Their own environment provides them with intimate and reassuring surroundings but the adults are looked upon as old-fashioned and authoritarian. As teenagers they will tend to identify with their own age groups which may bring them on a collision course with their parents who feel that they are abandoning their identity and allegiance to their own. But there are parents, too, who seem to think that conformity to everything Dutch, eg prohibiting their children to speak Sranang, is the way to move up the social ladder. All too often, these children lose their sense of belonging and react in a variety of ways. Some of them, such as drug addicts and Rastafarians, develop their own code of behaviour in resisting against both the Dutch and their own communities. The number of girls in this group is minimal. Disco teenagers dress more conventionally, stay at school and orient themselves towards the Dutch society. They can be found in community centres or discos, either in the company of Dutch peers or not. They too have a culture of their own and they speak Sranang.

The majority of girls, however, are constrained within their own clearly defined social circle. They spend their leisure time mostly at home or with relatives, and are more strongly oriented towards their own language and culture.

This is a direct consequence of attitudes about sex roles for sons and daughters and the different expectations for proper conduct. The attitude towards boys is permissive and they are left free to follow their own devices. The rules for girls, especially, those of Islamic or Hindustani backgrounds, are very rigid. Theirs is a confined and protective world in which submissiveness and passivity are reinforced. Yet here, too, the parents' authority is being challenged by the girls' increasingly modern and critical outlook.

A seemingly contradictory phenomenon in this respect is the leaving of school prematurely of girls, of Creole origin especially, because of pregnancy. In spite of sex education in school and the availibility of contraceptives this seems to be occurring frequently. Girls from lower-status classes either continue to live with their parents or they move into a place of their own. Their peers from higher-status classes, however, are often compelled to leave the parents' home (temporarily). There has been no research as yet into the frequency and backgrounds of these juvenile pregnancies. They might be looked upon as a sign of protest against their dependency and their parents, or as a rite of passage into adulthood in a culture which values motherhood to a considerable degree. In Hindustani communities, a modern form of being given away in marriage has come about: girls may withhold their consent to a partner chosen for them by relatives and thus refuse to marry him.

Policy

Official Dutch policy on migration has not had any clear aim and vision until lately. Little has been done specifically to atone for the inequities in education and employment, the presumption being that the migrants were here on a temporary basis. There is a growing awareness, however, that migrants have come to stay. But policy makers are as yet insufficiently aware of the fact that the needs and expectations of the groups concerned should be taken into consideration, and that the migrants themselves should be called upon to help formulate and develop a course of action. The Dutch population as a whole has little or no knowledge of other cultures and shows a rapidly declining enthusiasm to accomodate people who are different.

Resources

Rather than the provisions offered by general welfare institutions, it is women's own organisations and the specific Surinamese welfare facilities that respond to the needs and expectations of women from Surinam. The training courses they offer relate to the women's own cultural experience and educational level, and are given in their own language. These courses could function as a stepping stone to further education. Plans among Surinam women in the big cities to set up their own community centres, a home for battered wives and a documentation centre, are at an advanced stage. Surinamese and other black women in Arnhem have their own emergency telephone line. A number of municipalities have set up special training schemes for Surinam women, such as literacy courses up to elementary school level. Some places provide vocational training for hairdressers and for nurses of the aged and the sick. Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague have embarked on a major campaign to recruit Surinam women into the regular police force.

Recommendations

- Education for the general public, obligatory supplementary training for civil servants and anti-discriminatory legislation are essential.

- Intercultural education could function as an important mediator, it might help develop knowledge, respect and mutual understanding. A crucial factor is the teaching staff; they should become aware of

racism and ethnocentrism as a characteristic of the educational process. In order to break out of race-biased patterns it is furthermore necessary that curriculum materials be screened and selected for their non-biased content.

- Training programmes responding to the special needs of women should be instituted. Moreover, there is a demand for vocational schools for women, and not merely in traditional female professions.
  Private enterprise such as clothing boutiques, centres for artisans, hotel and catering establishments, nursery schools and kindergartens, etc which offer women the possibility of an independent income should be supported.

- A documentation centre of Surinam women for research, the dissemination of information, the stimulation of arts, crafts and culture and the raising of historical consciousness is called for.

- Strengthening of the infrastructure of the community through support and advocacy groups of Surinam women which could serve as mediators with local and national authorities, is necessary.

APPENDIX VII

FINAL REPORTS OF THE WORKING GROUPS

Final report - GROUP 1

Discussions within the group during the Monday sessions can be grouped under three main headings:

1. Migration as emancipation and liberation of women?

2. The problem of access to economic, social and political life in the receiving country: exclusion and integration.

3. The rights of migrants in Europe.

The first theme, or group of themes, revolved around the issue whether or not migration can be experienced by women as a liberating/emancipating process. For example, through economic independence achieved by taking salaried work in the receiving country, and the possible change in gender relationships as a result of migration. The emancipatory role of salaried work was seen to be limited, however, by the actual role of women within the labour market as cheap labour. In addition, the economic exploitation of women by men, including men of their own community, in situations of small family businesses in the receiving countries, was discussed in relation to their status as both wives and over-exploited working family members. The last theme dealt with the way in which migrants were becoming the real working class of the receiving country. An additional factor that was discussed in relation to migration as an emancipating factor was the compulsory education demanded by the receiving country allowing girls to achieve a level of education they would not otherwise receive.

The second theme revolved around the exclusion/integration opposition, that is the problems raised when we look at the way immigrant workers have access to the institutions and functions of the receiving society. The specific examples include problems such as:

a. Labour market and professional training: here migrant women, especially first generation, are at a disadvantage, since they more often than not have no access to professional training because they lack the necessary background (linguistic, both oral and written capacity).

b. The problem of literacy, which for most participants is seen as a sine qua non condition to allow access to the receiving culture and to the society structures. When literacy is rare, the isolation of the immigrant woman becomes an inherent aspect of her condition.

c. Labour unions: here was discussed the structure of the union system, which is a system not originally designed for immigrant workers and where they are often under-represented. Unions were seen as one of the numerous exclusive structures of the receiving countries.

d. The role of these members of immigrant communities who are themselves occupied in social and other work was also discussed as a phenomenon of social brokers, ie making a link between the dominant culture and the culture of origin of the immigrants. It was stressed that these people often act as models for the migrant community.

e. The resurgence of racism coming up in receiving countries has also been discussed, especially in connection with national policies and of the recent phenomenon of economic recession and unemployment.

To sum up one recurrent theme throughout this discussion is the culture problem which is believed to be at the bottom of most of the specific issues that have been discussed. It has more than once been suggested that receiving countries should seriously consider the cultural model they are imposing upon the immigrant communities.

The last group of themes is that of the rights of immigrant workers in Europe. For example, the whole issue of the status of immigrant women vis-à-vis the receiving state institutions was largely discussed. It is a sad fact that in most European countries work permits and residence permits for women are dependent upon their status as wives and daughters of men migrants. Therefore, sometimes in divorce cases, women lose all their civil rights. So we cannot talk about free choice for immigrant women in receiving countries. This has to do with the different countries' immigration policies, which have not yet been discussed.

Another topic discussed was the organisation of social welfare in receiving countries and the capacity of such institutions to deal with specific immigrant problems and to help these communities. Again the cultural issue is central in this context. Countries should look carefully at what they offer to immigrants in the context of social work and social welfare organisation.

Finally, it was stressed that one could not discuss integration policies without making it clear that in most countries immigrants are there to stay, that they are not temporary and that policies of social integration and cultural plurality should be examined under this light. It should also be made clear that policies of immigrants' return to their country of origin are an answer of the receiving country to its economic problems (recession and unemployment) and not necessarily meant to ameliorate the immigrants' life. It should also be remembered that, more often than not, it is a prospect immigrant women refuse much more than men, because going back to their country of origin may mean going back to worse life conditions and regressing to a lesser social status.

Discussions centred around one main theme, which can be defined as the problem of education (of young immigrants and also adults) combined to the problem of policies of adaptation (integration of the immigrant community in the receiving country).

School failure - but also school success - was discussed in relation to particular statistics and particular experiences from each country. One main point to stress is that migrant children face school failure problems because of their dual cultural and social situation: they are, for the most part, working class children with parents who more often than not have no knowledge of the language of the receiving country.

The problem of the young migrant girl does not present itself primarily as one of school career and specific training. If there are inadequacies, these involve all young girls - which is yet another problem.

The specificity of the young migrant girl lies in the need to take account of the problems of constructing a social, cultural and personal identity.

Teaching must expand to become education. The need to develop inter-cultural education is stressed yet again.

Teacher training must include information on the specificity of the young migrant girl's situation. Her education also depends upon the improvement of relations between the school and the family.

Programmes which have dealt with this problem (especially structures of collaboration between parents, home language teachers and school) have proved beneficial not only for school performance, but also in helping them help their children to widen the range of possible professional training afterwards.

Stereotypes concerning both the way immigrant culture is perceived by the indigenous population (especially teachers in this case) and the way the immigrant population considers itself within the society can be removed or, at least, changed by the training of teachers who deal with these communities and by these activities of bringing together parents and teachers. Here the role of «mediators» is important, because they can make the link between the immigrant community and the receiving society. Among those are many second generation migrants and bicultural local people who wish to help in social work and are actually employed in many countries as social welfare workers and in cultural work. These mediators can provide the «new models» for the immigrant community.

Another aspect of the problem of social integration of immigrants is that linked with linguistic training offered either by statutory agencies or by associations. These are activities which attract mostly working men and women, but leave out the housewives who are not usually willing to join. In this context, it has been said that immigrant women should be encouraged to organise themselves around issues which concern and affect them, such as their children's school problems and health, which they feel concern them. These can also be bases of associations of women from both the immigrant community and of the native population. In this context, alliances should be sought, encouraged and developed between such associations. In the EEC countries, these activities are not organised by the governments, but rely upon the initiative of associations. This is an unacceptable situation with the EEC countries, with the exception of Britain, which has in fact made some progress towards this end. The struggle against illiteracy should have a privileged place in the activities of women's associations. They should receive a substantial financial aid on the part of public authorities. Home language and culture teaching undertaken by women's organisations could bring an important element to the cultural life of the immigrant communities. In this context, public financial aid should be sought and given by cultural authorities.

The next thing discussed was the information necessary for the associations of immigrants so as to take advantage of the state legislation to finance such activities by the governments. There should be an effort made towards spreading this kind of information to immigrant groups so that they can benefit from already existing education institutions and other structures, for financing cultural and educational activities. And further, to include these activities in the professional training programmes, as is done in some countries (as is done for example by teaching the language of the receiving country to immigrants).

A general point that kept coming up was that the different governments' policies towards migration had a lot to do with whether they viewed these communities as temporary settlers or as a permanent phenomenon. It has been underlined that there are often contradictory interests between countries of origin and receiving countries. Linked with this are the often difficult relations between the authorities of the countries of origin, immigrants' associations and official institutions of the receiving countries, as regards mother tongue teaching and other cultural activities in the integration context. In many countries, there is no question of demanding from the countries of origin to share in that kind of expense. When both sides become more clear in their migration and immigration policies, it would be easier to face the problems of integration, return and the multicultural society that Europe is gradually becoming and to develop policies that help integration and acceptance by the receiving populations.

Final report - GROUP 2

Some general points were noted before discussion of the four themes:

1. that the point of departure should be the present reality of migrant women;

2. that the focus should be on the needs of migrant women themselves, not on them as the medium for educating society as suggested in the plenary session earlier, this includes an autonomous legal status for them;

3. that in some communities (for example, the North African community in France) women could only be approached through men;

4. that there are, in fact, at least five generations of women to consider:

   i. women who migrated with their husbands;

   ii. girls who migrated with their mothers;

   iii. girls born in the country of settlement;

   iv. girls married to sons of the second generation who themselves were born in the countries of origin;

   v. single girls who leave their countries of origin to find work.

Six main themes emerged from the discussion that followed:

a. The sexually divided majority cultures of the receiving countries plus the sexual divisions of the minority cultures.

b. Receiving countries that give less rights to women and girls - for example, nationality being dependent on that of the husband.

c. Socialisation within the family, and social control by the minority community - a tendency to perpetuate cultural norms of the countries of origin and to exercise more control to combat what is seen as the laxity of the host society, eg restrictions on girls who wish to go out socially.

d. Discrimination on racial grounds in addition to discrimination on cultural/linguistic grounds.

e. Communication problems within families where children were educated in the language of the host country without maintenance of their mother tongue, or in a literary form of the language of the country of origin, not the parental dialect.

f. Policies of governments toward family life, education etc which encourage a rejection by the children of the parents' culture; and the concepts of superiority/inferiority of different cultures and social class groupings, sometimes leading to the rejection of both cultures and the development of a sub-culture of some migrant youth.

Points which were the focus for detailed discussion were:

1. Legal rights and status of migrants, often dividing families and, within a single family, co-existence of several national statuses.

2. Representation of the interests of minority group women by men, or by "missionary type" majority culture women or by highly educated minority women. Also, the recognition that women are motivated to learn for different reasons: eg communication with children/re-assertion of authority over them, or development of work related skills; and the recognition that women's education can threaten male authority.

3. That a global political policy at international, national and municipal levels, is a necessity for women in general, and specific policies within that are required for minority women.

4. Despite the existence of legislation designed to make sexual and racial discrimination illegal, there remain sexually discriminatory laws which deny women equal rights to men, eg men may request family reunion, but women may not. Anti-discriminatory legislation needs to be more strongly enforced, and discriminatory practices terminated.

Education:

i. for the mother;

ii. for the children, especially girls;

iii. families.

Employment and training:

i. for women (allowing for child care)
ii. for men (allowing release from work)
} to enable access to the labour market

iii. for school leavers.

Training professionals to enable women from migrant groups to enter professions such as social work, teaching, administration, the police etc.

Abolition of laws that restrict members of migrant groups from being employed in certain professions, eg teaching.

Support for migrant organisations - at all levels; financial, training, administrative etc and the processes of co-operation between minority and majority women's groups should be developed. Training for women to acquire the skills to manage organisations - skills of negotiation, management etc - is essential.

Consultation - development of processes of consultation with migrant organisations to determine/establish their needs in order to develop appropriate policies and initiatives. The curricula of educational institutions should be monitored and adapted to present positive images of the cultures of migrant groups.

Proposals based on experience of participants

ORGANISATIONAL TRAINING

1. Government training programmes are needed for people acting as leaders in migrant organisations, and a central co-ordinating organisation is necessary for these groups. Conflict management should be a part of this training.

PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

2. Training is required to ensure that teachers see their role vis-à-vis migrant families, not only the children. Comparison of the education systems (structure and content) of the receiving and sending countries should be included in teacher education and hidden elements of racism should be eliminated. Priority should be given to second generation migrant women to enable them to become teachers. Inter-cultural training to develop sensitivity to the needs of migrants and enable interaction is also essential. There is a similar need for the training of interpreters to translate for immigrants in official situations.

3. Curricula in schools need to be tailored to ensure that children of migrants have an opportunity to learn about their own culture. Also, that all educational institutions examine and adapt curricula to enable women to have greater access to education and examinations. This includes special measures to enable migrant women to enter mainstream education at all levels especially at the higher levels.

In summary, conclusions on themes showed essential differences between generations:

Theme i.
1. differences in nationality and legal status;
2. differences in cultural identification - country of origin v. receiving country;
3. differences in language resulting in communication difficulties;
4. differences of expectation;
5. protection of girls who are sent back to their countries of origin (for marriage/education) without their consent.

Theme ii. differences of cultural norms and values, eg marrying outside one's community/culture/religion for second generation, social freedom for girls, and the degree of adaptation of the parental generation.

Theme iii. the life of migrant women in the context of discrimination, and in the context of sexually divided societies and groupings within that society.

Theme iv. legislation concerning the needs of migrants, and matters concerned with culture and identity particularly some proposals in the paper of the Mediterranean women meeting held in Greece 1984 which could not be discussed in detail but merits further consideration by Project Group No. 7.

Final report - GROUP 3

Preamble:

The group was persistently divided on a crucial issue concerning the future of migrants in host countries, namely that a number of members of the group considered that migrants, and more particularly the new generations, will increasingly take upon themselves their autonomous future, by creating their cultures (languages), their values, which will be the product of elements of the culture of origin, of the history of migration, and of cultural elements of the host society which would not mean, in fact, a break with the cultures of origin but perhaps a less close co-operation of projects with the countries of origin.

Other members of the group, on the contrary, insisted on the fact that, because of the closeness of certain countries of origin and the insecurity of residence in the host countries, certain migrant communities are more likely to "commute" between host countries and countries of origin and that the relations with the initiatives taken by countries of origin for their nationals should be continued.

1. Outline of the history of immigration and general difficulties

Immigrants arrived in the receiving countries as manpower at a time of prosperity and intended to return to their own countries.

Now they are settling in the receiving countries and new generations deriving from this first wave of immigration (second, third generations ...) are emerging.

The receiving countries are beginning to evolve certain integration policies, but to very varying extents.

For women in particular, very little is being done and they are not necessarily benefiting from the action taken.

2. Obstacles to the emancipation of migrant women and to their equal opportunities for development and factors which reinforce their isolation

a. Institutional obstacles

The options of migrant women (and men) are often limited by insecurity of residence. How can plans (eg integration or return) be made if life depends to a large extent on external circumstances?

- few or no reception structures for young children thus giving immigrant women time for themselves;

- little or no appropriate provision for literacy training: adult education, etc ...

b. Cultural obstacles

- family structures of certain communities; the role played by girls in the family in certain immigrant communities (forced marriages in the country of origin, older girls must look after their brothers and sisters and no longer go to school);

- religion (in the case of certain immigrant communities, the receiving countries adopt policies encouraging religious practice of a more traditional type than in the country of origin).

Explanation: 1. tendency to focus on religion frequently caused by the immigrants' sense of exclusion and insecurity;

2. the "pluralist" outlook of the receiving countries reinforces this tendency in their religion by granting them aid;

3. certain habits and taboos which prevent women from leading a social life;

4. ignorance of the language.

Question:

Might there be a kind of convergence between the lack of integration policies in the receiving countries and the action taken by the official authorities in the countries of origin, strengthening the trend towards the emergence of "cultural ghettos"?

c. Economic and social obstacles

- discrimination on the basis of physical appearance (racism);

- the economic situation (fatigue, lack of money).

3. Differing values

Views on this matter vary somewhat, but have not always been sufficiently explored.

Some women think that the pattern of emancipation is the same for women in the receiving country and for immigrant women, believing that the basic issue is one of human rights and that emancipation is pursuing the same course in the country of origin.

In both countries, the same contradictions are thought to exist between the traditional values, largely centred on the patriarchal family, and the new emphasis on individual fulfilment and new types of solidarity.

Some women have more doubts on this similarity of patterns.

Others again speak of different patterns, which the second generation tries to synthesise by taking what is best in both.

Finally, it has been suggested that, in this area, there may not be a different pattern, but rather different strategies, which need to be worked out in detail, in order to obtain this emancipation.

4. The proposals

I. Organisations of immigrant women and associations

a. Solidarity between immigrant women and with women in the receiving country is vital;

b. It is important that the receiving countries should provide priority aid (financial and organisational) for associations of immigrant women, thus allowing them to grow stronger, since they are best placed to identify problems, propose programmes and voice demands;

c. These organisations might usefully be given consultative status with the official authorities (a platform for women's organisations);

d. It is proposed that an international organisation of immigrant women (pressure group) be established.

Comments

The establishment of a broad range of associations must be accepted at the present time, eg:

- associations centred on the country of origin (language and culture organised by the state of origin);
- associations centred on the culture and language of the people and region of origin (minorities);
- associations centred on development of a new culture consisting of elements from the culture of origin, the history of migration (culture of the diaspora), and the culture of the receiving country;
- associations centred on integration in the host society (acquisition of the language and of the skills required for integration).

II. Media

Ways of reaching women through various channels must be expanded. Women's associations cannot be the only way of doing this.

Certain kinds (religious, political) are too marked and now more neutral areas should be created. Television and radio should be used more systematically, with programmes in the languages of origin, and should be in the hands of immigrant women themselves since there is a television and radio set in every home.

The media should inform in a more general way and should develop training programmes.

III. Specific training of social workers to develop actions with women and young migrant girls of the host country (familiarity with the culture and history of migrants) and of migrants (familiarity with the receiving countries' institutions).

IV. Socio-cultural projects

Launch projects which seek out women in their own surroundings (neighbourhood, home). Organise activities in non-scholastic areas and not present them as formal educational initiatives.

V. Plan for recruitment of immigrant staff to deal with immigrant communities (cultural minorities)

The group was divided upon this point. Several members of the group consider that social, educational and cultural staff from the migrant community would be better able to work with migrant communities (especially migrant women) because of their knowledge of the culture of origin, and their own personal experience (or their family's) of migration. They would then be good mediators if they have also undergone professional training in the host country.

Others in the group believed (especially for the educational staff - language and culture courses) that it would be better to use staff sent from the countries of origin in order to maintain the language and culture at the country of origin's present level.

Finally a number of members felt it undesirable to ignore host country staff.

VI. Appropriate educational programmes

- literacy training, in the language of origin and in the language of the host country (to facilitate social integration communication within the family);

- adult and pre-vocational education.

VII. Preservation of the family unit

The family unit provides a sense of security. The teaching of the language of origin must continue, to facilitate communication (responsibility of schools, associations).

Some recommendations cannot be made institutionally, eg "change men"!? education?

Proposal to the Council of Europe

1. Organise a meeting of leaders of associations of immigrant women in the receiving countries;

2. Promote research programmes on the issues of migrant women.

DECS/EGT (85) 28
Appendix VIII

ANNEXE VIII

COUNCIL OF EUROPE
COMMITTEE OF MINISTERS

RECOMMENDATION No. R (79) 10

OF THE COMMITTEE OF MINISTERS TO MEMBER STATES CONCERNING WOMEN MIGRANTS [1]

(Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 29 May 1979 at the 305th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies)

The Committee of Ministers, under the terms of Article 15.*b* of the Statute of the Council of Europe,

Considering the aim of the Council of Europe is to achieve a greater unity between its members for the purpose of safeguarding and realising the ideals and principles which are their common heritage and facilitating their economic and social progress ;

Guided by the principle of equality of opportunity and treatment between men and women workers and by the provisions of the European Social Charter contained in Articles 4, sub-paragraph 3, 18 and 19 concerning respectively the right of men and women workers to equal pay for work of equal value, the right to engage in a gainful occupation in the territories of other Contracting Parties, and the effective exercise of the right of migrant workers and their families to protection and assistance ;

Having regard to the European Convention on the Legal Status of Migrant Workers and to Resolutions (74) 15 and (76) 11 as far as the principle of the equality of treatment of national and migrant workers is concerned ;

Convinced that in the context of genuine European integration member states could usefully formulate a migration policy providing for the implementation and development of preventive measures in the social, cultural and educational life of women migrants,

Recommends that the governments of member states :

1. ensure that :

i. national legislation and regulations concerning women migrants be fully adapted to existing international standards which are in force for their countries ;

ii. effective equality of opportunity and treatment between migrant and national women workers is ensured in practice by efficient and systematic monitoring of the implementation of national legislation and regulations ;

2. envisage, without prejudice to any provisions more favourable to women migrant workers provided for in national legislation or international agreements, the following steps :

i. *in respect of information*

— to develop close collaboration between the sending and receiving countries so as to provide women migrants before departure and during residence with any necessary information about living and working conditions in the receiving country ;

1. When the recommendation was adopted, the Representative of the *Federal Republic of Germany*, referring to Article 10.2.*c* of the Rules of Procedure for the meetings of the Ministers' Deputies, reserved the right of his government to comply or not with the text of the second and third sub-paragraphs of paragraph 2.iv of the recommendation.

— to see to it that this information is provided in a language which they can understand ;

— to set up as far as possible and, where they already exist, improve and promote social services and provide them with the necessary means :

a. to assist women migrants to adapt to the social environment of the receiving country, notably by providing better reception facilities such as housing, hostels, crèches, schools, etc. suited to their needs and those of their families ;

b. to inform women migrants and particularly unmarried mothers, widows and divorcees, through all appropriate channels and during their residence in the receiving country, about their legal rights and obligations, as well as the related legal and administrative machinery—including the procedure for the recovery of maintenance payments set up in 1967 by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe—that may protect and assist them with the necessary administrative formalities ;

c. to help women migrant workers adapt to their working environment by giving them information about their specific rights and obligations, about services available to them and the opportunities for vocational training, and to encourage employment services to be associated if necessary with all these information activities ;

ii. *in respect of conditions of residence and work*

— to take all appropriate measures to prevent discrimination between indigenous women workers and migrant women workers, both in the case of redundancy and, where national legislation permits, in the case of subsequent re-engagement ;

— to ensure that in conformity with the national legislation the unemployed wives of migrant workers and their dependent children can keep their residence permit and be provided with appropriate social and administrative assistance in exercising their rights if their husbands lose their jobs, as long as the husband's residence permit remains valid ;

— to see to it that women migrant workers who are made redundant and are compelled to leave the country of employment retain all their acquired rights or rights in the process of being acquired, in conformity with the national legislation and regulations ;

iii. *in respect of living conditions and socio-cultural development in general*

— to take adequate steps to promote the adjustment of women migrants to the social and professional environment of the receiving country ;

— to see to it that the conditions of access to and enjoyment of child care facilities are based, as far as possible, on a criterion of equality with national workers ;

— to promote public awareness and understanding among the population of the specific problems of women migrants ;

— to ensure that the competent authorities take initiatives and measures in close co-operation with organisations, including those for women migrants—to promote cultural self-fulfilment among women migrants, provide for their socio-cultural advancement and foster communication with the social environment of the receiving country ;

iv. *in respect of basic training, vocational guidance and promotion*

— to increase the resources enabling women migrants to take advantage of language classes corresponding to their needs and, if need be, reading and writing classes, in accordance with Resolution (68) 18 of the Committee of Ministers ;

— to extend to women migrants the benefit of vocational guidance, vocational training and permanent education ;

— to enable women migrant workers to enjoy, on the same footing as indigenous women workers, the vocational retraining and rehabilitation facilities provided by the competent services and to support, notably in the framework of international agreements, all measures to further their promotion and ensure their resettlement should they change their occupation in the receiving country or return to their countries of origin ;

3. report to the Secretary General of the Council of Europe every five years on measures taken to give effect to this recommendation.

Appendix IX
Annexe IX

APPENDIX IX
ANNEXE IX

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Ouverture du colloque/
Opening of the colloquy

M. Gaetano ADINOLFI, Secrétaire Général Adjoint du Conseil de l'Europe, Deputy Secretary General of the Council of Europe

PRESIDENT/CHAIR

Ms Verity SAIFULLAH-KHAN, University of London, Institute of Education, 18, Woburn Square, GB-LONDON WC1H ONS

RAPPORTEUR GENERAL/GENERAL RAPPORTEUR

Professor Lotty van den BERG-ELDERING, Oude Woudenbergse Zandweg, 17, NL - 3707 AM ZEIST

CONSULTANTS

Madame Silvana PAVONE, Assistance Sociale, Rue Cluysenaar, 21, B - 1060 BRUXELLES

Madame Zoulika BOUKORTT, Ministere de la Recherche et de la Technologie, Département des Sciences de l'Homme, 1, rue Descartes, F - 75005 PARIS

Miss Gloria D. WEKKER, Govert Flinckstraat 168 C, NL - 1072 EP AMSTERDAM

Doc. Dr. Ipek GÜRKAYNAK, Ankara Universitesi, Egitim Bilimleri Fakültesi, Cebeci, TR - ANKARA

Ms Avtar BRAH (Dr.), School of Education, The Open University, Walton Hall, Milton Keynes, GB - MK7 6AA

GROUPE DE PROJET No. 7
PROJECT GROUP No. 7

M. le Professeur Louis PORCHER (excusé), Président du Groupe de Projet No. 7, 10, rue du Docteur Roux, F - 75015 PARIS

Mlle Thérese MANGOT, Chargée de mission, Ministere de la Communauté Française, Galerie Ravenstein, 4, B - 1000 BRUXELLES

Mme Marie-Claire ROSIERS, Chargée de mission, Ministere de l'Education Nationale et de la Culture Flamande, Service Provincial d'Immigration et d'Accueil, Thonissenlaan, 19, B - 3500 HASSELT

Ms Liv GUNVALDSEN, Det Kongelige Kirke-og-Undervisningsdepartment, P.O. 8119, N - OSLO

Mme Teresa QUINTELA, S.E.B.S.P.E., Instituto de Cultura e Lingua Portuguesa Ministerio da Educaçao et das Universidades, Rue D. Joao V, 30, P - LISBOA

M. Bertil JAKOBSSON, National Swedish Board of Education, O-avdelningen, S.-Ö, S - 106 42 STOCKHOLM

Mr John SINGH, HMI, Department of Education and Science, Elizabeth House, York Road, GB - LONDON SE1 7PH

GROUPE DE TRAVAIL SUR LA FORMATION DES MAITRES CHARGES DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT DISPENSE AUX ENFANTS DE MIGRANTS
WORKING GROUP ON THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE EDUCATION OF MIGRANTS' CHILDREN

Mme Micheline REY, Chargée de mission, Education et Accueil des Migrants, Département de l'Instruction Publique, 41, chemin de Planta, CH - 1223 COLOGNY/GENEVE

ASSEMBLEE PARLEMENTAIRE DU CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE - Commission des migrations, des réfugiés et de la démographie
PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE - Committee on Migration, Refugees and Demography

Ms Karin ANDERSSON, Member of the Riksdag, Riksdagen, S - 100 12 STOCKHOLM

COMITE DIRECTEUR SUR LES MIGRATIONS INTRA-EUROPEENNES (CDMG)
STEERING COMMITTEE ON INTRA-EUROPEAN MIGRATION

M. Fritz SCHÜTTE, c/o Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Rochusstrasse, 1, D - 5300 BONN

M. John MURRAY, Secrétaire du CDMG, Division de la Population, de la Formation Professionnelle et de l'Accord Partiel/Fonds de Réétablissement, Conseil de l'Europe

EXPERTS INDEPENDANTS
INDEPENDANT EXPERTS

AUTRICHE
AUSTRIA

Mme Jacqueline FREIGANG, Verein der der Jugendzentren der Stadt Wien, Pragerstrasse, 20, A - 1210 WIEN

BELGIQUE
BELGIUM

Dr. Marie-France CAMMAERT, Free associate at the Katholiece Universiteit te Leuven, Colomastraat, 17, B - 2500 MECHELEN

Mme Ruhsar DUMLUGÖL, Chercheuse a l'Institut Universitaire d'Anvers, Hoge Aardstraat, 55, B - 2610 WILRIJK

Mme Fatima BOUKHRISS, Onthaalcentrum voor Gastarbeiders, Gallaiststraat, 80, B - 1030 BRUXELLES

Mme D'AMICO LINA, Etudiante en sociologie, Eikenstraat, 11, B - 3540 ZOLDER

CHYPRE
CYPRUS

Dr. Floya ANTHIAS, 20B, Augoustinos St., Kapsalos - LIMASSOL

DANEMARK
DENMARK

Ms Karen ANDERSEN, Counsellor concerning migrants, Ministry of Social Affairs, Slotsholmsgade 6, DK - 1216 COPENHAGEN K

FRANCE

Mme Martine ABDALLAH-PRETCEILLE, Directrice d'école normale, Ecole normale d'instituteurs, 36, avenue Jean Jaures, F - 63407 CHAMALIERES CEDEX

REPUBLIQUE FEDERALE D'ALLEMAGNE
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Mme Astrid ALBRECHT-HEIDE, Technicsch Universität Berlin, Fachbereich 22, Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswissenschaften, Institut für Erziehung, Unterricht und Ausbildung, Franklinstrasse 28/29, Sekr. FR 4-3, D - 1000 BERLIN 10

Prof. Rita ROSEN, Fachhochschule Wiesbaden, Fachbereich Sozialwesen, Kurt-Schumacher-Ring, 18, D - 6200 WIESBADEN

GRECE
GREECE

Mme Maria COUROUCLI, Attaché Culturel, Ambassade de Grece, 17, rue Auguste Vaquerie, F - 75016 PARIS

Ms Aliki-Paryssatis LEONTIDOU, KEGME, Mediterranean Women's Studies Institute Athens, Saphous 34, GR - 17676 ATHENS

ITALIE
ITALY

M. Paolo DALESSANDRO, Inspecteur Central, Cabinet du Ministre, Ministere de l'Instruction Publique, Viale di Trastevere, 76A, I - 00153 ROME

Mme Maria Ausilia CERRI NEGRINI, 4, quai du Maire Dietrich, F - 67000 STRASBOURG

LUXEMBOURG

Mme Adeline PELLEGRINO, Inspectrice de l'enseignement primaire, 44, rue Batty Weber, L - 4346 ESCH-SUR-ALZETTE

PAYS-BAS
NETHERLANDS

Ms Brigida MEYER-CRATZ, Directrice municipale, educational center for adult education (college), Burg. Hoggueerstraat, NL - 1064 EE AMSTERDAM

PORTUGAL

Mme Isabelle ROMAO, Comissao da condiçao feminina, Av. da Republica, n° 32, 1°
P - 1093 LISBOA CODEX

ESPAGNE
SPAIN

Mme Maria ARRONDO, Pontevedra, 20, E - ZARAGOZA

SUEDE
SWEDEN

Ms Judith NARROWE, University of Stockholm, Department of Social Anthropology,
S - 106 91 STOCKHOLM

Mme Mira KAKOSSAIOS, Federation of International Associations of
Immigrant Women, VASRG 36, S - 111 20 STOCKHOLM

Ms Eva LUNDBERG-LITHMAN, Slåubärstigen, 27, S - 12531 ÄLVSJÖ

SUISSE
SWITZERLAND

Dr. Cristina ALLEMANN-GHIONDA, Directrice du Comitato Consolare,
Consulat Général d'Italie, Schaffhauserrheinweg, 5, CH - 4058 BALE

TURQUIE
TURKEY

Professor Dr. N. Nermin ABADAN-UNAT, Ankara University, Faculty of
Political Science, Kibris Sokak, 6-12, TR - ANKARA

ROYAUME-UNI
UNITED KINGDOM

Ms Yvonne COLLYMORE, 10 Dyson Road, GB - LONDON E11

OBSERVATEURS
OBSERVERS

YUGOSLAVIE
YUGOSLAVIA

Mme Milena CVETIC, Bureau Fédéral de l'Emploi, Zmaj Jovina, 21,
11000 BEOGRAD, Yougoslavie

CANADA

Mme Juliette BARCELO, Sous-ministre des Communautés Culturelles et de
l'Immigration du Québec

Mme Lyse BLANCHARD, Directeure, Programme Promotion de la Femme, Secrétariat d'Etat, Terrasses de la Chaudière, 15, rue Eddy, Hull, P.Q., K1A 0M5.

Mme Carol E. WESTCOTT, Adjointe au Sous-ministre de l'Education et au Sous-ministre des collèges et universités de l'Ontario

COMMISSION DES COMMUNAUTES EUROPEENNES
COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

M. Lucien JACOBY, Administrateur principal, Direction générale de l'emploi, des affaires sociales et de l'éducation, Commission des Communautés européennes, 200, rue de la Loi, B - 1049 BRUXELLES

UNESCO

Mlle Mina KOROMA, Spécialiste du Programme de la Division de l'égalite des chances en matière d'éducation et des programmes spéciaux du secteur de l'éducation, UNESCO, 7, place de Fontenoy, F - 75700 PARIS

CIMADE STRASBOURG

Mme Claire JOCHUM

Mme Anne-Marie MICHEL

SECRETARIAT

M. Michael MARSCHALL VON BIEBERTEIN, Directeur de l'enseignement, de la culture et du sport

M. Maitland STOBART, Directeur adjoint de l'enseignement, de la culture et du sport, Chef de la division de l'enseignement scolaire

Mlle Maura ROLANDI RICCI, Administrateur à la division de l'enseignement scolaire
Mlle Annamaria TRUSSO, Administrateur à la division de l'enseignement scolaire

Mme Yvette DONAZZOLO, Secrétaire à la division de l'enseignement scolaire.